

Előd Nemerkényi

Latin Classics in Medieval Hungary *Eleventh Century*

rependere satagamus. Significauit autem nobis
filius noster tuusque fidelis hilduinus, tuusque carissimus
ergo nos insignia fideliter afferens unum de nobis
priscians te uolle, quemque perinde libenter mittamus
quicquid etiam deinceps petueris hilarissime
abi si possibile fuerit transmissum. ipsa quo
quod presentia manu si tibi opus esset ac uoluntas
nobis quod peteras obsequientissime predatur.

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Eleventh Century**

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Department of Medieval Studies

Előd Nemerkényi

**LATIN CLASSICS
IN MEDIEVAL HUNGARY
ELEVENTH CENTURY**

Debrecen–Budapest, 2004

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ABBREVIATIONS

AASS: Acta sanctorum

CCCM: Corpus Christianorum: Continuatio mediaeualis

CCSL: Corpus Christianorum: Series Latina

CFHH: Catalogus fontium historiae Hungaricae

CSEL: Corpus scriptorum ecclesiasticorum Latinorum

DHA: Diplomata Hungariae antiquissima

GL: Grammatici Latini

LLMAH: Lexicon Latinitatis medii aevi Hungariae

MGH: Monumenta Germaniae historica

PL: Patrologiae cursus completus: Series Latina

RIS: Rerum Italicarum scriptores

SC: Sources Chrétiennes

SRH: Scriptores rerum Hungaricarum

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INTRODUCTION

The principal thesis of the present study is the following: the Latin classics had a stronger impact on the formation of Latin literacy in medieval Hungary than has been acknowledged before. The choice of subject merits an introduction to the current state of research. Scholarship on medieval Latin and the classical tradition in the Middle Ages has always occupied the crossroads of classical philology and medieval studies. Observing that classicists and medievalists are “two related but usually distinct audiences,” Carol Dana Lanham complained that “a troubling gap persists between classical Latin and medieval Latin as fields of study... Many classicists seem uninterested in the *Nachleben* of the authors they study, and look down on medieval Latin as «the bastard at the family reunion.» Medievalists—except the relatively few who specialize in Latin texts—often ignore, or at best tolerate the *Vorleben* that furnished the Latin education of the authors they study.” Scholars bridging this gap, however, have already contributed a great deal to the understanding of the influence of classical Latin on medieval Latin.¹

Considerably less attention has been paid to the question of what exactly ‘the classics’ meant. The term itself originates in Roman antiquity, notably in Varro’s *De lingua Latina* 5.16.91: *Classicus a classe, qui item cornuo canint, ut tum cum classes comitiis ad comitiatum uocant*. Varro’s etymology of the term for the first of the six *census* classes established in Rome under Servius Tullius was adapted by Gellius, *Noctes Atticae* 6.13.1–3: (*Quem “classicum” dicat M. Cato, quem “infra classem.”*) *“Classici” dicebantur non omnes, qui in quinque classibus erant, sed primae tantum classis homines, qui centum et uiginti quinque milia aeris ampliusue censi erant. “Infra classem” autem appellabantur secundae classis ceterarumque omnium classium, qui minore summa aeris, quod supra dixi, censemebantur. Hoc eo strictim notaui, quoniam in M. Catonis oratione, “qua Voconiam legem suasit,” quaeri solet, quid sit “classicus,” quid “infra classem.”* Gellius was the first to use the term with the meaning of standard, normative authors (*Noctes Atticae* 19.8.15): *Ite ergo nunc et, quando forte erit otium, quaerite, an “quadrigam” et “harenas” dixerit e cohorte illa dumtaxat antiquiore uel oratorum aliquis uel poetarum, id est classicus adsiduusque aliquis scriptor, non proletarius.*²

According to the medievalist’s definition, Latin classics are texts that are written in Latin, have literary value, date from antiquity, and represent pagan—that is, Graeco-

¹ Lanham (2002: x). See Bieler (1949: 98–104); Steinen (1957: 1–27); Strecker (1957: 126–31); Plezia (1967: 29–40); Lanham (1975b: 46–59); Pulgram (1978: 284–309, 285–6); Sheerin (1987: 51–67); Hexter (1987: 69–92); Gelumbeckaite (1999: 375–80); Deléani (2002: 3–25); White (2002: 131–43).

² See Luck (1958: 150–8); Toppani (1991: 155–67). See also Michel (1993: 17–28).

Roman—religion.³ Another definition also suggests that the term ‘classics’ should be used with caution, in order to avoid anachronism in a medieval setting, because classical and post-classical authors, including Martianus Capella, Boethius and Priscian, were similarly considered *auctores* in the Middle Ages.⁴ In situating classical texts as a separate group, one should be aware that the term ‘classics’ did not exist in the Middle Ages. Since the concept did exist, however, they constituted a separate category in the Middle Ages; this is what justifies their established separate treatment in modern classical and medieval scholarship, eminently in medieval Latin philology.⁵

The findings of the scholarship on the classical tradition in well-documented territories, such as the Christian approach towards the pagan authors and the liberal arts, the use of Latin classics in cathedral and monastic schools, and their presence in medieval libraries, rely on rich source materials, including commentaries on classical authors, grammatical works, textbooks, library catalogs, and other types of literary evidence such as *florilegia*. Western trends influenced the formation of Latin literacy and library culture in Central Europe, but Western scholarship on the classical tradition had little effect on the research on matters Central European.⁶

As regards its geographical and chronological scope, the choice of subject of the present study requires explanation as well: how does the study of the Latin classics contribute to a better understanding of the formation of Latin literacy in eleventh-century Hungary, and how does this specific case relate to the research on the classical tradition in the Middle Ages?⁷ Until recently, the lack of a systematic combination of classical philology and medieval studies resulted in the regrettable fact that the classical tradition in itself never became an appealing subject in scholarship on medieval Hungary. Primarily because of the sparse and fragmentary evidence, a systematic focus on the Latin classics prevailed only in studies that dealt with the period starting with renaissance humanism. Although the medieval period received only occasional attention in this regard, recent pioneering studies show that an inquiry of this kind is meaningful.⁸ In order to bridge this gap, given the lack of major groundbreaking studies of the sort, one must start the systematic inquiry with the very beginnings of Latin literacy in medieval Hungary: the eleventh century. The fragmentary evidence presents the

³ Mostert (1996: 23–4). See also Mostert (1991: 139–40).

⁴ Ziolkowski (2000: 81–2). See also Levin (1969: 1–9).

⁵ See Gabotto (1891); Taylor (1901: 44–56); Clark (1921–1922: 13–7); Lehmann (1934: 209–28); Sweeney (1968: 339–44); Bischoff (1971: 83–94); Bischoff (1975: 59–86); Hunt (1975); Munk Olsen (1984–1985: 169–81); Scaglione (1990: 343–62); Munk Olsen (1990: 343–62); Villa (1992: 479–522); Leonardi (1994: 11–27); Schmidt (1995: 3–21); Buonocore (1996); Ziolkowski (1997: 297–322).

⁶ See Hlaváček (1983: 701–37); Csapodi (1984a: 332–57); Adamska (1999: 165–90); Adamska (2000: 83–100); Hunyadi (2000: 105–13); Adamska (2002: 1–15).

⁷ See McGuire and Dressler (1977: 173–91, 227–31); Stotz (2002: 118–9, 231–4).

⁸ See Madas (2001: 119–32).

biggest challenge, because the majority of the manuscripts extant in eleventh-century Hungary are now lost.⁹

However, the study of the Latin classics in eleventh-century Hungary can be organized on the basis of four extant sources of extraordinary importance: a letter of Bishop Fulbert of Chartres to Bishop Bonipert of Pécs about a copy of Priscian's grammar to be sent from France to Hungary, the *Admonitions* of King Saint Stephen of Hungary, the *Deliberatio* of Bishop Saint Gerard of Csanád, and the book list of the monastery of Pannonhalma. All of these four sources have been studied, but none of those studies has addressed them as the first sources of the classical tradition in medieval Hungary. The basic criterion of their selection is of course arbitrary: although isolated from each other, they are connected by the artificial coherence of their value in carrying information on the role of the Latin classics. This common feature is also characteristic of further products of Latin literacy in eleventh-century Hungary: charters, law codes, historical and hagiographic accounts, and liturgical texts. One must limit the scope of study, however, and these latter types of sources are excluded from the systematic analysis, because they represent genres to be investigated separately in their full process of development. Bishop Fulbert's letter, the *Admonitions*, the *Deliberatio* and the Pannonhalma book list, however, are the first major instances of their respective genres that provide information on the different channels through which classical learning left an impact on the formation of Latin literacy. These four sources serve as points of departure for the four chapters of the present study. They also correspond to the two basic approaches to the study of Roman antiquity in the Middle Ages: while Fulbert's letter and the Pannonhalma book list provide information on the manuscript evidence, the *Admonitions* and the *Deliberatio* demonstrate how literate persons reflected on matters related to antiquity.¹⁰

Chapter One (The Cathedral School) examines the significance of Priscian's Latin grammar, Fulbert's and Bonipert's background, and the grammatical holdings of contemporary cathedral libraries, in order to gain an insight into the study of Latin at the cathedral school of Pécs. Chapter Two (The *Admonitions* of King Saint Stephen of Hungary) examines the Biblical Latin background and the Carolingian antecedents of the mirror of princes, in order to provide a background for establishing what can be considered the classical influence in the author's use of the organic metaphor in the representation of the bishops, and the medieval idea of Rome; the chapter provides textual parallels to classical, patristic and medieval works as well. Chapter Three (The *Deliberatio* of Bishop Saint Gerard of Csanád) elaborates on the author's patristic sources, but its main focus is on his approach to the seven liberal arts and ancient rhetoric, as well as his Latinity, through a lexical and stylistic analysis of Book One

⁹ Csapodi and Csapodiné Gárdonyi (1994: 9–21).

¹⁰ See Mortensen (1992: 100).

and his use of the literary convention of a fictive audience; this chapter also provides textual parallels to classical, patristic and medieval works. Chapter Four (The Monastic School) examines the role of the classical items in the book list of the monastery of Pannonhalma as school authors from the late antique grammarians to Carolingian and medieval authors, as well as the classical holdings of monastic libraries, in order to establish the function of the classics in monastic education.

The purpose of the inquiry into these sources is definitely not to prove that classical studies of any sort started in Hungary after its conversion to Christianity, because the scattered pieces of evidence do not support such overinterpretation. Attributing more impact to the Latin classics than they actually exerted would indeed be overestimating the classical background of these sources. Attributing less classical background to these sources than they actually had, however, would be underestimating the impact of the Latin classics. One must record and interpret their influence in the context of the classical tradition in the Middle Ages. This requires an exploration of the complex system of filters through which classical Latin influenced the earliest pieces of literacy in medieval Hungary. If the valuable methods of both classical philology and medieval studies are combined properly, these sources can reveal a great deal more about the beginnings of the reception of the Latin classics in medieval Hungary than they have hitherto revealed.¹¹

Occasionally providing critical evaluations and challenging previous scholarship, this study is seriously indebted to the work of others, especially the critical editions of the relevant texts. These accomplishments are appropriately credited by quoting the famous metaphor of John of Salisbury: *Dicebat Bernardus Carnotensis nos esse quasi nanos gigantum umeris insidentes, ut possimus plura eis et remotiora uidere, non utique proprii uisus, aut eminentia corporis, sed quia in altum subuehimur et extollimur magnitudine gigantea.*¹² The author wishes to acknowledge the support and resources of the Department of Medieval Studies at Central European University, the Department of Latin at the University of Budapest, the Department of Classics at Rutgers University, and the Erasmus Institute at the University of Notre Dame.

¹¹ See Nemerkényi (2000a: 37–58); Nemerkényi (2003b: 243–56).

¹² John of Salisbury, “Metalogicon,” *CCCM* 98, 116.

CHAPTER ONE

The Cathedral School

Around 1023, Bishop Fulbert of Chartres composed a letter to Bishop Bonipert of Pécs informing him that he was sending one of his copies of Priscian from France to Hungary. The text of the entire letter is as follows: *Sancto ac uenerabili coepiscopo suo Boniperto F(ulbertus) fidelitatis obsequium et summi pastoris benedictionem. Primum quidem benedicimus Deum Patrem ingenitum, filiumque suum unigenitum Ihesum Christum dominum nostrum, et Spiritum sanctum paraclitum, unum uerum Deum qui cuncta creauit, qui te quoque, dilectissime pater, multa sapiencia inlustrauit ad docendum populum suum, et decore sanctitatis ad prebendum bonae uitae exemplum ornauit. Deinde magnas tibi referimus grates, quod nos licet inmeritos atque ignotos salutacionis tuae pariterque munere gratiae dignatus es peruenire. Unde profecto nos in amorem tuum sic animasti, ut perhennem tui memoriam in intimo cordis nostri uigere uelimus, ut saltem per crebra oracionum suffragia, si aliter facultas non suspecierit, tuae benignitati uicem rependere satagamus. Significauit autem nobis filius noster tuusque fidelis Hilduinus tuae caritatis erga nos insignia fideliter asserens unum de nostris Priscianis te uelle, quem et per eundem libenter mittimus, quicquid etiam de nostro pecieris hilarissime tibi (si possibile fuerit) transmissuri, ipsam quoque presenciam nostram, si tibi opus esset ac uoluntas, nobisque potestas, obsequentissime prestatu. Ad ultimum saluere te semper obtamus, precantes ut illam nouam ac gloriosam adoptionis prolem, regem uidelicet Stephanum, ex nostri parte salutes, intimans excellenciae suae ex nostra parte et uniuersarum congregacionum quae sunt in episcopatu nostro, canonicorum scilicet ac monachorum, oracionum fidelia.* Bishop Fulbert's letter survives in at least five manuscripts of the eleventh and twelfth centuries: Leiden, Vossianus Latinus Q. 12 (first half of the eleventh century); Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Latin 14167 (middle of the eleventh century); Durham Cathedral, MS. B. II. 11 (between 1081 and 1096); Hereford Cathedral, MS. P. ii. 15 (twelfth century); and Vatican, Reginensis Latinus 278 (twelfth century). The letter has been published in many editions—most of them, however, used the Vatican manuscript only.¹³

¹³ Wilmart (1945: 80–4); Potthast (1976: 598–600). See Katona (1779: 158–9); Koller (1782: 12–4); György Fejér, ed., *Codex diplomaticus Hungariae ecclesiasticus ac civilis*, vol. 1 (Buda: Regia Universitas Ungarica, 1829), 287–8; Fulbert of Chartres, “Epistola ad archiepiscopum Bonipertum,” *PL* 141, 189–90; Léopold Delisle, ed., *Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France*, vol. 10 (Paris: Palme, 1874), 443; *CFHH* 2, 962; Frederick Behrends, ed., *The Letters and Poems of Fulbert of Chartres* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976), 148; *DHA* 1, 103–4. See also Thompson (1967: 236); Csapodi and Csapodiné Gárdonyi

Although this Priscian manuscript is now lost, departing from this evidence, one might explore what kind of role a Priscian manuscript played in a cathedral school setting in the eleventh century and what Fulbert's letter implies in terms of teaching and learning Latin in a recently Christianized country. Priscian, the author mentioned in Fulbert's letter, was born in Caesarea in Mauretania and became schoolmaster of grammar in Constantinople in the early sixth century.¹⁴ The manuscript tradition of his grammatical works shows that they played a major role in the medieval curriculum of Latin grammar.¹⁵ The most important grammars used in the Middle Ages were the comprehensive works of Donatus and the more advanced ones of Priscian. Both set up their grammars according to the standards of classical authors and thus they served as important mediators of the Latin classics—even though Priscian himself was a Christian, nobody seemed to have known or cared about it, and he has always been counted among the pagan classics.¹⁶ It is significant that Dante places Donatus in *Paradiso* (12.137) but Priscian in *Inferno* (15.109).¹⁷

Bishop Fulbert mentions *unum de nostris Priscianis*, where *unum* could refer to *codicem, librum, uolumen*, or simply *Priscianum*. The work is otherwise unspecified in Fulbert's letter. The question is which of Priscian's works it was that Bishop Bonipert of Pécs asked for. Was it something to be specified by the messenger, Hilduin? Was it a codex containing more than one work by Priscian? The most frequently used work of Priscian was the *Institutiones grammaticae*.¹⁸ Originally, it was meant to be a Latin grammar based on Greek grammatical authorities in order to help Byzantine Greeks to learn Latin as a foreign language.¹⁹ According to its editor, the work was so frequently copied in the Middle Ages, often in separate codices, that it was absent in no *bibliotheca* and could be commented by *magistellis scholasticis*. The editor of Priscian's text also wrote the following: *pro certo equidem affirmarim, in uniuersis Europae librariis Institutionum Grammaticarum ad mille codices seruari*. This sentence has misled generations of literary historians, classicists as well as medievalists.²⁰ The editor's estimation later proved to be a gross exaggeration concerning the manuscript tradition of Priscian's grammar: taking into account all the known fragments and manuscripts copied until the end of the fourteenth century, the most reliable results vary between

(1994: 15); Gyula Kristó, ed., *Az államalapítás korának írott forrásai* (The written sources of the time of the foundation of the state) (Szeged: Szegedi Középkorász Műhely, 1999), 102–4.

¹⁴ See Salamon (1979: 91–6); Ballaïra (1989); Conti Bizzarro (1994: 35–49).

¹⁵ See Passalacqua (1978); Bursill-Hall (1981); Hofman (1998: 128–31).

¹⁶ See Dekkers and Gaar (1995: 504–6).

¹⁷ See Kneepkens (1974: 258–68).

¹⁸ Priscian, “*Institutionum grammaticarum libri XVIII*,” *GL* 2–3.

¹⁹ See Wright (2002a: 3–17); Wright (2002b: 70–84).

²⁰ Priscian, “*Institutionum grammaticarum libri XVIII*,” *GL* 2, xiii. See Langosch (1963: 51); Dihle (1989: 451).

three hundred and eight hundred Priscian manuscripts.²¹

The majority of them were copied between the ninth and the eleventh century. While the surviving manuscripts of the *Ars grammatica* of Donatus, consisting of the *Ars minor* and the *Ars maior*, total around seven hundred, Priscian's *Institutiones grammaticae* survives in sixteen Carolingian codices that contain the complete work with all its eighteen books. The grammar thereafter was copied in separate parts. From the eleventh century, the first sixteen books were called *Priscianus maior* (*De octo partibus*): Books One to Seven treated the *nomen*, Eight to Ten the *uerbum*, Eleven the *participium*, Twelve and Thirteen the *pronomen*, Fourteen the *praepositio*, Fifteen the *aduerbium* and the *interiectio*, and Sixteen the *coniunctio*. The seventeenth and eighteenth books were called *Priscianus minor* (*De constructione*). The *Accessus Prisciani* described it in the *Accessus ad auctores* thus: *Licet diuersa sunt uolumina, scilicet maior Priscianus de uiui partibus et minor constructionum, tamen unus liber reputatur, quemadmodum liber Psalmorum licet diuersi reputantur, secundum assertionem quorundam sanctorum tamen unus liber reputatur, quemadmodum in auctoribus, scilicet in Ouidio Metamorphoseon et in Lucano, licet diuersi sunt libri, tamen pro uno reputantur. Sic etiam est de Prisciano, quod inde conicitur, quod idem sit iste cum premisso, quia ipse asserit in principio operis sui se tractaturum in xuii libro de constructione siue ordinatione dictionum... Grammatica autem dicitur quasi literalis scientia, id est scientia tradita de literis. Ars autem ista utilis ualde est et nulla potest sciri absque ista et magis necessaria est quam dialectica, quemadmodum aqua magis necessaria est quam balsamum.*²²

Among the surviving manuscripts, around one hundred were copied before or at the beginning of the eleventh century.²³ In theory, therefore, one of them might have been the Priscian mentioned in Fulbert's letter. Provided that the datings of the manuscripts are correct, two manuscripts could be subject to further investigation because of their Chartres provenance: Bern, Bürgerbibliothek, AA. 90. fasc. 22 (early ninth century) and Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 14272 (the codex of Hartvic of Saint Emmeram from the early eleventh century).

Priscian's reputation was so strong in the Middle Ages that his grammatical activity was recorded even in historical accounts such as those of Paul the Deacon (*Tunc quoque apud Constantinopolim Priscianus Caesariensis grammaticae artis, ut ita dixerim profunda rimatus est*, quoted by Regino of Prüm), Haymo of Fleury (*Priscianus Caesariensis in arte grammatica, Arator in exarandis apostolorum actibus arte metrica, claruerunt*), Bernold of Constance (*His temporibus beatus abbas Benedictus immensa uirtutum gloria claruit. Priscianus quoque grammaticus his fuit temporibus*) and Otto

²¹ See Fritz (1908: 83–4); Buttenwieser (1942: 53); Huygens (1953: 479); Meyer (1954); Holtz (1977a: 247–69); Bursill-Hall (1981).

²² R.B.C. Huygens, ed., *Accessus ad auctores* (Brussels: Latomus, 1954), 42–3. See Baebler (1885: 28–66); Kneepkens (1995: 239–64).

²³ See Gibson (1972: 105–24); Cervani (1984: 397–421). See also Thurot (1869: *passim*).

of Freising (*Priscianus Cesariensis gramaticae artis libros ad Iulianum consulem et patricium profusos, sed necessarios officioso opere edidit*).²⁴

More importantly, Priscian has always been praised for his relatively precise citations. The number of his classical Latin quotations totals around ten thousand; thus his contribution to the indirect transmission of the Latin classics is considerable. He refers to virtually all the authors of ancient Roman literature.²⁵ Priscian's reputation as a major mediator of classical antiquity was obvious in the Middle Ages. As Notker Balbulus put it, *Caeterum, si et gentilium auctores nosse desideras, Priscianum lege...*²⁶ After quoting Vergil (*Aeneis* 8.77: *corniger hesperidum fluuius regnator aquarum*), Gunzo of Novara immediately refers to Priscian's *De constructione: Virgilius tamen inquit: "Corniger Hesperidum fluuius regnator aquarum" pro fluuio. Si quis autem hoc pleniter scire desiderat, libros Prisciani de constructione legat...*²⁷ Indeed, this quotation from Vergil appears many times in Priscian's works.²⁸

Based on the Latin classics, with an abundance of quotations to exemplify and clarify grammatical details, Priscian's grammar disseminated an indirect knowledge of the ancient Roman authors in the Middle Ages. As an expert of the influence of the seven liberal arts on medieval culture formulated it a century ago, "These numerous quotations must have made it also a valuable anthology. To what extent are the learned quotations in which mediaeval writers abound copied from Priscian instead of from the originals?"²⁹ Consequently, the role of Priscian's grammar in medieval schooling can be better understood against the background of ancient Roman literature. Its high level meant that it was a lot more than mere elementary Latin instruction or *Schulgrammatik*—it "provided so detailed a description of Latin forms that all but the most confident would drown in it."³⁰

The medieval popularity of Priscian's *Institutiones grammaticae* is also attested by its excerpts. Already Cassiodorus' *De orthographia*, a compilation of ancient grammatical works, is partly based on Priscian: *Ex Prisciano grammatico qui nostro tempore Constantinopoli doctor fuit, de libro primo ipsius ista collecta sunt.*³¹ Alcuin

²⁴ Paul the Deacon, "Historia Romana," *MGH: Auctores antiquissimi* 2, 396; Regino of Prüm, "Chronicon," *PL* 132, 26; Haymo of Fleury, "Historia Francorum," *PL* 139, 698; Bernold of Constance, "Chronicon," *MGH: Scriptores* 5, 412; Otto of Freising, "Chronica sive historia de duabus civitatibus," *MGH: Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum* 45, 235.

²⁵ See Froehde (1895: 279–88); Jeep (1908–1909: 12–51, 1–51); Craig (1930: 65–73); Curtius (1947: 9); Donovan (1961: 75–80); Buck (1963: 219, 221); Perl (1967: 283–8); Polara (1994: 187–201); Swiggers (1995: 159–95); Law (1997a: 6–11); Vainio (2000: 30–48).

²⁶ Notker Balbulus, "De interpretibus divinarum scripturarum," *PL* 131, 1004.

²⁷ Gunzo of Novara, "Epistola ad Augienses fratres," *PL* 136, 1287.

²⁸ Priscian, "Institutionum grammaticarum libri XVIII," *GL* 2, 305, *GL* 3, 202, 208; Priscian, "Partitiones duodecim versuum Aeneidos principialium," *GL* 3, 487, 511.

²⁹ Abelson (1906: 39).

³⁰ Law (1997b: 131).

³¹ Cassiodorus, "De orthographia," *GL* 7, 207–9.

commemorated Priscian's grammar in his praise of the rich classical holdings of the York cathedral library: *Illic inuenies ueterum uestigia Patrum, / Quidquid habet pro se Latio Romanus in orbe/ Graecia uel quidquid transmisit clara Latinis/ .../ Historici ueteres Pompeius, Plinius, ipse/ Acer Aristoteles, rhetor quoque Tullius ingens. / .../ Quod Maro Virgilius, Statius, Lucanus et Auctor:/ Artis grammaticae uel quid scripse- re magistri;/ Quid Probus atque Focas, Donatus, Priscianusue, / Seruius, Euticius, Pompeius, Comminianus.³²* Alcuin also called him *Priscianus Latinae eloquentiae decus*. However, his excerpts from Priscian's *Institutiones grammaticae* did not become a standard textbook in the Middle Ages: only a couple of its manuscripts survive.³³ The *Excerptio de arte grammatica Prisciani*, attributed to Hrabanus Maurus in the manuscripts and the old library catalogs of the monastery of Fulda, was more popular.³⁴

It has long been an established fact in the historiography of medieval grammar that commentaries on both major authors, Donatus and Priscian, were at least as important as the major works themselves.³⁵ The Carolingian commentaries on Priscian represent a significant branch of this tradition, but these sophisticated treatises addressed a narrow circle of learned scholars instead of aiming to meet the pedagogical needs of schoolmasters.³⁶ The most important of them were the *In Priscianum* by Sedulius Scottus³⁷ and the *Expositio super Priscianum* by Remigius of Auxerre.³⁸ These works paved the way for the extensive early scholastic commentaries on Priscian, including those by Petrus Helias and Ralph of Beauvais.³⁹ The so-called *Sacerdos ad altare*, a list of textbooks from the end of the twelfth century, strongly recommends the use of grammars, especially Priscian: *Gramatice daturus operam audiat et legat barbarismum Donati et Prisciani maius uolumen cum libro construcyionum... et Remigium et Priscianum de metris et de ponderibus et duodecim uersibus Virgilii et Priscianum de accentibus, quem tamen multi negant editum esse a Prisciano, inspiciat diligenter.⁴⁰* The number of the manuscripts of scholastic commentaries on Priscian, such as those by Robert Kilwardby, Boethius of Dacia (*Modi significandi siue quaestiones super Priscianum maiorem*) and Petrus Hispanus (*Summa on Priscianus minor*), already surpasses that of the manuscripts of the works by Priscian himself. From the thirteenth

³² Alcuin, "Poema de pontificibus et sanctis ecclesiae Eboracensis," *PL* 101, 843–4.

³³ Alcuin, "Grammatica," *PL* 101, 873. See Schmitz (1908: 19–28, 30–1); Brown (1975: 237–93); O'Donnell (1976: 222–35); Bischoff (1994: 100); Law (1994: 95–6); Holtz (2000: 289–326).

³⁴ Pseudo-Hrabanus Maurus, "Excerptio de arte grammatica Prisciani," *PL* 111, 613–78. See Rissel (1976: 76–162); Brunhölzl (1975: 330–1).

³⁵ See Traube (1911: 98).

³⁶ See Rädle (1982: 484–500); Dutton and Luhtala (1994: 153–63); Luhtala (1996: 53–78).

³⁷ Sedulius Scottus, "In Priscianum," *CCCM* 40C, 55–84. See Law (1994: 88–110).

³⁸ See Manitius (1911: 504–19); De Marco (1952b: 495–517); Huygens (1954b: 330–44); Leonardi (1975: 459–504); Holtz (1989–1990: 163–73).

³⁹ See Hunt (1941–1943: 194–231); Jeauneau (1973: 335–70); Gibson (1979: 235–54); Gibson (1992: 17–33).

⁴⁰ Haskins (1909: 92).

century, the dominant role of Priscian was taken over by new treatises: the *Doctrinale* of Alexander of Villedieu and the *Grecismus* of Eberhard of Béthune. Finally, the *editio princeps* of Priscian's *Institutiones grammaticae* was printed in Venice in 1470—on the basis of a ninth-century manuscript not yet identified.⁴¹

It seems most probable that Bishop Bonipert of Pécs asked for Priscian's *Institutiones grammaticae*. Since it is not defined in the letter of Fulbert of Chartres, however, one must consider Priscian's other works as well.⁴² First of all, the *Praeexercitamina* should be taken into consideration: a short review of rhetorical practices, a translated and revised Latin version of the Greek *Progymnasmata* of Hermogenes, the second-century schoolmaster of Tarsus.⁴³ Drawing a parallel between Greek and Latin grammatical authorities, Cassiodorus had already highlighted the importance of Priscian in his *Institutiones* 2.1.1: *De quarum positionibus atque uirtutibus Graece Helenus, Latine Priscianus subtiliter tractauerunt*. Priscian's *Praeexercitamina* quotes Terence, Cicero, Sallust, Vergil and Horace, but overall it contains a lot fewer references to the Latin classics than the *Institutiones grammaticae*. The *progymnasmata* or *praeexercitamina* constituted a separate category of school rhetoric in the Middle Ages.⁴⁴ According to a scholarly hypothesis, Bonipert may have asked for Priscian's *Praeexercitamina* because it contained rhetorical skills that could prove useful for a bishop in charge of supervising the composition of royal charters. This hypothesis was combined with a theory about Bishop Bonipert's familiarity with the Greek background of the *Progymnasmata* and his willingness to pursue missionary activity in the proximity of Byzantine territory. The latter theory, however, proves improbable on both accounts: nobody could expect a satisfactory level of Greek knowledge in a recently established cathedral community for that kind of purpose, and the conversion of pagan Hungarians in Bonipert's diocese presented a sufficient challenge in any case.⁴⁵

Another, shorter, grammatical work of Priscian's is the *Institutio de nomine et pronomine et uerbo*.⁴⁶ Remigius of Auxerre commented on this work as well, and declared the following about Priscian: *Quattuor in hoc loco requirenda sunt, locus, persona, tempus et causa scribendi. Locus Roma, persona Priscianus, tempus sub Iuliano consule, causa scribendi ad instruendos pueros. Nam post magnum suum opus hunc composuit libellum ut pueros erudiret*.⁴⁷ Priscian's shorter works also include the *Partitio-nes duodecim uersuum Aeneidos principalium*.⁴⁸ Medieval library catalogs sometimes

⁴¹ See Rand (1929b: 249–69); Gibson (1977: 249–60).

⁴² See Mezey (1967: 55); Mezey (1979: 107); Vizkelety (2001a: 109); Vizkelety (2001b: 41–9).

⁴³ Priscian, "Praeexercitamina," *GL* 3, 430–40. See Luscher (1912); Weische (1978: 155–6); Passalacqua (1986: 443–8); Ward (1990: 30); Copeland (1991: 58).

⁴⁴ See Cizek (1994: 247–51).

⁴⁵ See Mezey (1967: 55). See also Györfy (1971: 295–313).

⁴⁶ Priscian, "Institutio de nomine et pronomine et verbo," *GL* 3, 441–56.

⁴⁷ "Remigiana," *CCCM* 171, 12–3. See Jeudy (1972: 73–144).

⁴⁸ Priscian, "Partitio-nes duodecim uersuum Aeneidos principalium," *GL* 3, 457–515. See Glück (1967: 62–8).

refer to this work as *Priscianellus*, following the pattern of diminutive titles such as *Seruiellus* or *Seruiolus*.⁴⁹ Remigius of Auxerre commented on this work too.⁵⁰ Besides Priscian's *De figuris numerorum*⁵¹ and *De metris fabularum Terentii*,⁵² there are dubious works attributed to him, such as the *Periegesis*, which, along with the *Institutiones grammaticae* and the *Institutio de nomine et pronomine et uerbo*, figures in the ninth-century library catalog of the monastery of Lorsch: *Liber Prisciani grammatici, qui "Periegesis" nominatus est, id est descriptio orbis terrarum et maris, in duobus quaternionibus*.⁵³ Since it does not seem probable that Bishop Bonipert asked for any of these smaller works, one can provisionally conclude that the work of Priscian's mentioned in Bishop Fulbert's letter is his most detailed and most popular grammatical work, the *Institutiones grammaticae*.

The overview of the persons involved in the correspondence should start with Bishop Fulbert of Chartres, a reputed intellectual of his time.⁵⁴ Fulbert was a pupil of Gerbert of Aurillac in the cathedral school of Reims. Gerbert put a great stress on the teaching of rhetoric and developing a sufficient library. This can be inferred from one of his letters from Reims to Abbot Eberhard of Tours around 984–985: *Nam et apposite dicere ad persuadendum et animos furentium suaui oratione ab impetu retinere summa utilitas. Cui rei preparande bibliothecam assidue comparo. Et sicut Rome dum ac in aliis partibus Italie, Germania quoque et Belgica scriptores auctorumque exemplaria multitudine nummorum redemi adiutus beniuolentia ac studio amicorum comprouincialium, sic identidem apud uos fieri ac per uos sinite ut exorem*.⁵⁵ As bishop of Chartres between 1007 and 1028, Fulbert also promoted the study of the arts. Recalling his memories, one of the alumni of the cathedral school of Chartres, Adelman of Liège, called him a Socrates in his letter to Berengar of Tours: *Conlactaneum te meum uocaui propter dulcissimum illud contubernium, quod cum te adolescentulo, ipse ego maiusculus, in academia Carnotensi sub nostro illo uenerabili Socrate iocundissime duxi, cuius de conuictu gloriari nobis dignius licet quam gloriabatur Plato, gratias agens naturae eo, quod in diebus Socratis sui hominem se non pecudem peperisset*.⁵⁶ Nevertheless, Fulbert admitted in one of his letters that he was not always an accurate librarian: *Continentur quedam reuerenda nobis in priuilegiis Romanae eccle-*

⁴⁹ See Hurlbut (1933: 259); Dolbeau (1989: 79–99).

⁵⁰ See Jeudy (1971: 123–43); Contreni (1978: 60, 68, 182).

⁵¹ Priscian, "De figuris numerorum," *GL* 3, 406–17.

⁵² Priscian, "De metris fabularum Terentii," *GL* 3, 418–29.

⁵³ Häse (2002: 98, 303–6). See also Finch (1968: 165–79).

⁵⁴ See Pfister (1885); Brunel (1996: 19–26).

⁵⁵ Fritz Weigle, ed., *MGH: Die Briefe der deutschen Kaiserzeit*, vol. 2, *Die Briefsammlung Gerberts von Reims* (Weimar: Böhlau, 1966), 73. See Williams (1954: 661–77); Gasc (1986: 111–21).

⁵⁶ Adelman of Liège, "De eucharistiae sacramento ad Berengarium epistola," *CCCM* 171, 182. See Erdmann (1938: 39); Jeauneau (1960: 3); Silvestre (1961: 855–71); Huygens (1967: 459–89); Riché (1979: 359–60); Jaeger (1987: 573–4, 603–4); Jaeger (1994: 62); Jeauneau (1997: 97–8).

*siae, quae propter negligenciam nostram non facile inueniuntur in armariis nostris.*⁵⁷ His correspondence and poetry, on the other hand, also reveal his classical erudition: he makes references to Aristotle, Porphyry, Cicero, Livy and Donatus.⁵⁸ Simply on the basis of his writings, however, it is not clear whether these authors were actually part of a library collection in Chartres—and if so, whether they belonged to Fulbert's private library or to the cathedral library.

In the eleventh century, Chartres had more than one copy of Priscian, but the surviving book list does not specify which works. Manuscripts of classical Latin authors such as Terence, Horace, Vergil, Ovid and Statius also figured in the Chartres cathedral library.⁵⁹ The library of the monastery of Saint Peter in Chartres also had a copy of Priscian in Fulbert's day.⁶⁰ Although the notion of Chartrian humanism has proven a romantic misconception, the cathedral school started to emphasize the study of the liberal arts under Bishop Fulbert's direction. The readings included the works of Martianus Capella, Boethius and Cassiodorus, and the curriculum aimed at instructing the higher ranks of the diocesan clergy. It is significant that later, in the middle of the twelfth century, the archivolts of the right portal of the Western façade of the Chartres cathedral featured allegorical sculptures of the liberal arts—grammar was represented by the figure of either Donatus or Priscian.⁶¹ The special emphasis on grammar in the cathedral school of Chartres may have been one of the reasons why Bishop Bonipert of Pécs turned to his renowned colleague in Chartres. Besides, according to some speculation, Bonipert supported Fulbert with money to restore the cathedral building of Chartres after it was destroyed by fire in 1020. From the prospective of Fulbert's network of correspondence all over Europe asking for monetary contribution for the reconstruction of his cathedral, a copy of Priscian's grammar in return could not have been a major issue, no matter how expensive a codex might have been at the time.⁶²

Fulbert had close ties to Abbot Odilo of Cluny, whose biographer Jotsaldus recorded the following about the former: *Fulbertus ille sibi praecordialis amicus, Carnotensis episcopus, in sanctitate laudabilis, in sapientia mirabilis, in cuius morte studium philosophiae in Francia periit, et gloria sacerdotum pene cecidit.*⁶³ Odilo of Cluny, in turn, was in correspondence with King Stephen of Hungary later in the 1030s

⁵⁷ Behrends (see n. 13, 160). See Clerval (1895: 142).

⁵⁸ Behrends (see n. 13, 158, 224, 266). See also Behrends (1970: 253–75).

⁵⁹ See Manitius (1935: 311); Raby (1957: 309).

⁶⁰ See Merlet (1854: 265); Gustav Becker, ed. *Catalogi bibliothecarum antiqui* (Bonn: Cohen, 1885), 144–5; Lesne (1938: 195–6).

⁶¹ See Clerval (1895: 108–30); Marriage and Marriage (1909: 70–3); Ghellinck (1939: 73–4); Lesne (1940: 152–73); Walsh (1942: 55–62); Raby (1953: 257–87); MacKinney (1957: 59–60); Baldwin (1959: 151–3); Dronke (1969: 117–40); Wetherbee (1973: 109–17); Southern (1995: 58–101); Riché (1996: 27–32); Luscombe (1996: 105–14); Marenbon (2000: 569–77).

⁶² See Mezey (1967: 54); Erlande-Brandenburg (1996: 123); Wellman (2002: 136).

⁶³ Jotsaldus, “De vita et virtutibus sancti Odilonis abbatis,” *PL* 142, 906. See also Ziezulewicz (1991: 383–402).

about relics to be sent to the altars of Hungarian churches.⁶⁴ The twelfth-century library catalog of Cluny reflects Fulbert's Cluniac connection: *Epistole domni Fulberti et aliud ipsius de uersibus rhythmis hymnis prosa et cantu*.⁶⁵ Although the most powerful in those days, Cluny was not the only Benedictine house on good terms with the bishop of Chartres, and the copy that Bishop Bonipert of Pécs asked for was not the only eastward-bound Priscian manuscript that left Chartres in Bishop Fulbert's day. The provenance of an early eleventh-century manuscript (Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 14272) shows Fulbert's relation to the Benedictine monastery of Saint Emmeram in Regensburg. This is a miscellaneous codex of 192 leaves that contains a glossed text of Priscian's *De constructione*, along with Cicero and other texts related to the seven liberal arts. The following inscription can be read on its fol. 1v: *Dominus Fulbertus episcopus*. The *donator* of the codex was probably Hartvic, a monk of Saint Emmeram who spent some time studying in the cathedral school of Chartres under the direction of Bishop Fulbert. When he went back to his home cloister in Regensburg, he presumably carried one of the codices of his former tutor to the monastery of Saint Emmeram as study material.⁶⁶ Since the Bavarian roots represented a constant cultural influence in eleventh-century Hungary, this Munich manuscript has a special significance also with regard to Bonipert's book request. Given the ties between Saint Emmeram and Hungary in the early eleventh century, the letter of Fulbert to Bonipert apparently provides information on a well-established type of transaction.⁶⁷ As regards Bishop Fulbert, one should finally add that Bonipert may not have been his only contact person in Hungary: philological studies have highlighted some textual parallels between Fulbert's sermons and the twelfth-century *Legenda minor* of Saint Gerard of Csanád.⁶⁸

The background of Bishop Bonipert of Pécs is a lot more difficult to establish than that of Fulbert. Of the various hypotheses, the most feasible is the one concerning his Lombard origin. The occurrence of the name Bonipert in a charter issued by Emperor Otto III in Rome in 996 supports this hypothesis: *insuper etiam capellam in honore sancti Marini constructam cum suis pertinentiis atque sortem in quercento que laboratur per Bonipertum quam Boso eidem contulit congregationi...*⁶⁹ The name Bonipert

⁶⁴ See DHA 1, 111. See also Pais (1923: 15–26); Galla (1931: 74–6); Galla (1938: 146–54); Hóman (1938: 139–45); David (1939a: 1–15); Csóka (1942–1943: 165); Gabriel (1944: 7–12); Székely (1960: 312–25); Engelbert (1995: 473–88).

⁶⁵ Manitius (1907: 695). See also Winter (1989–1990: 554).

⁶⁶ See Halm, Keinz, and Thomas (1876: 152–3); Bischoff (1967a: 80–1); Glauche (1978: 176–8); Fredborg (1995: 327–8). See also Lattin (1948: 205–25).

⁶⁷ See Veszprémy (1985: 137–41); Kubinyi (1988: 29–39); Szendrei (1998: 21–8); Veszprémy (2000: 193–205).

⁶⁸ “Legenda sancti Gerhardi episcopi,” SRH 2, 471–9. See Jelenits (1984: 227–34); Holl (1992: 125). See also Canal (1962: 33–51); Barré (1964: 324–30); Fassler (2000: 389–434).

⁶⁹ Theodor von Sickel, ed., *MGH: Diplomata regum et imperatorum Germaniae*, vol. 2.2, *Ottonis III. diplomata* (Hanover: Hahn, 1893), 608–9.

also occurs in numerous charters from Italy from the tenth and eleventh centuries – Arezzo (933): *quae laboratur per Bonipertum liberum hominem*, Perugia (938–939): *quae laboratur per Bonipertum liberum hominem*, Verona (969): *Teudibertus et Bonipertus praesbiteris et monachis de eodem monasterio sancti Zenonis*, Verona (972): *Pedreuerlus et Iohannes et Bonipertus presbiteris*, Vicenza (1013): *Ego Bonuertus presbiter manu mea subscrispsi*, and Arezzo (1016): *in Querceto, que laboratur per Bonipertum liberum hominem*.⁷⁰ An earlier document from Merovingian France (680), however, also contains the name Bonipert: *Ego Bonibertus episcopus subscrispsi*.⁷¹ There were different channels of influence on the ecclesiastical structure of Hungary in the early eleventh century, but the possible Italian background of Bonipert would confirm an important Italian link.⁷²

Besides Bonipert's origin, there is another equally important set of questions about his career. Was he a Benedictine monk, as were many other missionaries around King Stephen, before he came to Hungary? If so, did he have Cluniac relations? Did he know Fulbert of Chartres personally? (The personal tone of Fulbert's letter proves nothing in this regard, given the stylistic patterns of medieval Latin epistolography).⁷³ Did Bonipert know the Chartres cathedral library or Fulbert's private library? Since Fulbert seems to be responding to a precise request (*unum de nostris Priscianis te uelle*), he probably did. On the other hand, however, it does not require the personal experience of an eleventh-century bishop to infer that a well-equipped cathedral library has at least one copy of Priscian. And more importantly, did his book request aim at the needs of his cathedral school in instructing the arts of the *trivium*, or was it simply a personal request?

The identity of Hilduin, the messenger between Chartres and Pécs mentioned in Fulbert's letter (*Significauit autem nobis filius noster tuusque fidelis Hilduinus tuae caritatis erga nos insignia fideliter asserens unum de nostris Priscianis te uelle, quem et per eundem libenter mittimus*), has not been established. The Frankish origin of his name suggests that he was a Frenchman, but he could have been a priest of Bonipert and a canon at the Pécs cathedral just as easily as he could have been a priest of Fulbert and a canon at Chartres cathedral. An intimate expression in a letter addressed to Fulbert indicates that a certain Hilduin once belonged to the Chartres cathedral community or Fulbert's circle: *Salutate, precor, uice mea dominum meum Sigonem et Hil-*

⁷⁰ Andrea Gloria, ed., *Codice diplomatico padovano dal secolo sesto a tutto l'undecimo*, vol. 1 (Venice: Deputazione Veneta di Storia Patria, 1877), 77, 125; Luigi Schiaparelli, ed., *I diplomi di Ugo e di Lotario, di Berengario II e di Adalberto* (Rome: Istituto Storico Italiano, 1924), 100, 148; Cesare Manaresi, ed., *I placiti del «Regnum Italiae»*, vol. 2.1 (Rome: Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medio Evo, 1957), 118–9; Cesare Manaresi, ed., *I placiti del «Regnum Italiae»*, vol. 2.2 (Rome: Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medio Evo, 1958), 575.

⁷¹ “*Donationes ac testamenta*,” *PL* 88, 1201.

⁷² See Györffy (1988: 21–2); Kosztolnyik (2002: 133).

⁷³ See Lanham (1975a: 44–5).

duinum, priorem animum meum, alterum animae meae dimidium. The use of the expression *animae meae dimidium*, however, could be a mere literary convention: Horace in *Carmina* 1.3.8 referred to Vergil in the same way, and Saint Jerome also quotes the same epithet from Horace: *Et Lyricus pro amico precans: "Serues," inquit, "animae dimidium meae."* Even if these two occurrences of the name Hilduin in Fulbert's correspondence relate to the same person, this evidence does not exclude the possibility of Hilduin being a canon first in Chartres and later in Pécs.⁷⁴ Furthermore, a Chartres manuscript from Fulbert's day, containing a *computus*, a *martyrologium* and a *necrologium*, provides additional information. Its *Necrologium ecclesiae beatae Mariae Carnotensis* records the death of three persons in the cathedral community—all of them called Hilduin: *Obiit Hilduinus, alme Marie canonicus, custos scrinii sacre uestis et totius ecclesiae ornamenti, rei familiaris seruator fidelis et distributior dapsilis...* *Obiit Hilduinus, Ragenoldi uicedomini filius, subdiaconus et canonicus misericordissime Dei genitricis Mariae...* *Obiit Hilduinus clericus, Gauscelini filius, et canonicus almae Mariae...*⁷⁵ Even if none of them was the person mentioned in Fulbert's letter, this evidence further proves the possibility that Hilduin belonged to Fulbert's circle. In this case, the triangle of Fulbert, Hilduin and Bonipert would support the hypothesis of Bonipert's French origin.

Bonipert was the first bishop of Pécs, between 1009 and 1036. The foundation charter of the bishopric of Pécs, issued by King Stephen of Hungary in 1009, records the following: *erectionem episcopatus, qui uocabitur Quinqueecclesiensis, statuimus in honorem dei, et omnium sanctorum, Boniperto ibi episcopo facto, priuilegys terminisque ordinauimus, et confirmauimus.* (The cathedral of Pécs was dedicated to Saint Peter.) The foundation charter of the Benedictine abbey of Zalavár, also issued by King Stephen in 1019, reports that the two witnesses to the consecration of the new church of the monastery were Bishop Modestus of Györ and Bishop Bonipert of Pécs: *a duobus episcopis, scilicet Modesto et Boniperto...*⁷⁶ (The Annals of Pozsony later recorded the death of a bishop called Modestus in 1046: *Interficiuntur episcopi Gerardus et Modestus...*)⁷⁷ József Koller, himself a canon of the cathedral chapter of Pécs, dedicated a detailed study to the time of Bonipert and also quoted Fulbert's letter from the Vatican manuscript.⁷⁸ Nonetheless, it is still not clear if Bonipert played a role in the reception of the Venetian monk, Gerard, in Hungary. The fourteenth-century *Le-*

⁷⁴ Behrends (see n. 13, 190); Saint Jerome, "Commentarii in prophetas minores," CCSL 76, 510. See Clerval (1895: 63).

⁷⁵ René Merlet and Alexandre Clerval, ed., *Un manuscrit chartrain du XI^e siècle* (Chartres: Garnier, 1893), 157, 179, 183.

⁷⁶ DHA 1, 54–8, 86–92. See also Erdélyi (1902: 488–500); Szentpétery (1918: 48); Imre Szentpétery, ed., *Regesta regum stirpis Arpadianae critico-diplomatica*, vol. 1, *Diplomata regum Hungariae ab anno MI. usque ad annum MCCLXX. complectens* (Budapest: MTA, 1923), 3; Györffy (1977: 190).

⁷⁷ "Annales Posonienses," SRH 1, 125.

⁷⁸ Koller (1782: 13–4).

genda maior of Saint Gerard states that the second bishop of Pécs, Maurus, welcomed him upon his arrival in Hungary.⁷⁹ Gerard, however, arrived in Hungary in 1015 and was appointed bishop of Csand in 1030. None of the sixteen years in between could witness Maurus as bishop of Pécs, because he was appointed to that rank in 1036 only. If so, the author of the legend of Saint Gerard was wrong, and it was Bishop Bonipert who received Gerard in Hungary and later introduced him to King Stephen.⁸⁰

Some of the editors of Fulbert's letter to Bonipert argue that the address reads *archiepiscopo* and this leads to the question of Bonipert's alleged chancellorship, because his archiepiscopal role would have meant that he was chancellor of King Stephen. Two circumstances support this hypothesis. First, there is Fulbert's greeting to King Stephen in the closing words of his letter: *Ad ultimum saluere te semper obtamus, precantes ut illam nouam ac gloriosam adoptionis prolem summi regis, regem uidelicet Stephanum, ex nostri parte salutes, intimans excellenciae suae ex nostra parte et uniuersarum congregacionum quae sunt in episcopatu nostro, canonicorum scilicet ac monachorum, oracionum fidelia.*⁸¹ Second, the archiepiscopal rank of Bonipert would explain why he asked for a copy of Priscian: as archbishop and chancellor, he would have been in charge of supervising and issuing royal charters, which required a proper command of Latin. Based on these two circumstances, Jean Mabillon and the Bollandists suggested that Bonipert was not only archbishop but also *capellanus* or *sacellanus*, that is, court priest of King Stephen. This would also imply that Bonipert or Hilduin were involved in the preparation of the first royal law code of King Stephen.⁸² These arguments fail on the following points. First, the contemporary German model, namely, the establishment of the court of Emperor Henry II in the early eleventh century with its system of *Kapellan-Bischöfe* and *Kanoniker-Kapellane*, does not fit into this hypothesis. Second, they simply fail to recognize that the archbishop of Esztergom was Anastasius at that time. Third, a chancellor is not supposed to turn to a foreign colleague to have the proper manuals for composing charters—be it Priscian's grammar or anything else. Fourth, Priscian's grammar is simply not designed for the composition of charters.⁸³

The Annals of Pozsony, written from 997 to 1203, contain two entries of importance regarding Bonipert's career. At the year 1036 the following is noted: *Maurus episcopus est factus*. At 1042 there is this: *Bompertus episcopus obiit*. The juxtaposition of these two entries suggests that Bishop Bonipert resigned six years before his

⁷⁹ “Legenda sancti Gerhardi episcopi,” *SRH* 2, 485–6.

⁸⁰ See Karcsonyi (1925: 49–50, 55–6, 165); Erdlyi (1936: 253–78); Kuhr (1937: 58–62); Gallos (1975: 9).

⁸¹ Behrends (see n. 13, 148). See also Behrends (1963: 93–9).

⁸² Mabillon (1739: 133); Stiltungus (1868: 522–3).

⁸³ See Ortvay (1890: 22–3); Gyorffy (1969: 79–113); Gyorffy (1984: 88–96); Jonas (1997: 263–72); Thoroczkay (1999: 129–42); Torok (2001: 455–66). See also Fleckenstein (1966: 216–8).

death.⁸⁴ In 1774, the Jesuit historian György Pray, who discovered the codex containing the Annals of Pozsony, noticed the contradiction between the two entries of 1036 and 1042. Due to the lack of other relevant evidence, scholars have accepted Pray's hypothesis: Bonipert resigned from his episcopal seat in 1036, six years before his death.⁸⁵ If the hypothesis of Bonipert's Lombard or French origin is to be accepted, he was possibly put aside due to political reasons by the German supporters and especially the Bavarian escort of Queen Gisela, sister of Emperor Henry II and widow of King Stephen, because their influence may have surpassed that of the Italian and French *Latini* in Hungary.⁸⁶ Since Bonipert's death is recorded in the Annals of Pozsony, however, it seems probable that he stayed in the country after his resignation. In any case, his successor in the episcopal seat was Maurus, second bishop of Pécs, between 1036 and 1070. As Maurus himself reported, he had previously been a monk in the Benedictine monastery of Pannonhalma: *Ego quidem Maurus nunc Deo miserante episcopus, tunc autem puer scolasticus uirum bonum uidi, sed que esset eius conuersatio, non uisu, sed auditu percepit. Ad nostrum ergo monasterium in honorem beati pontificis Martini consecratum cum iam dictus monachus Benedictus sepe uenisset, mihi hec, que sequuntur, de eius uita uenerabili narravit.*⁸⁷ The possibility that the Annals of Pozsony were composed by Benedictines and the fact that the Annals mention both Maurus and Bonipert could together furnish a reference to Bonipert's possible Benedictine past.

After the foundation of the bishopric of Pécs in 1009, Bonipert arranged for the construction of the cathedral—the foundations of the present-day building were constructed in his time. He must also have established the cathedral school relatively early.⁸⁸ The *scriptorium*, if there was any, was probably busy copying liturgical codices in the early period, since providing the liturgy was one of the most important purposes of a recently established cathedral. On the other hand, the beginning of the cathedral's activity of issuing public charters as a place of authentication can be dated only to 1214.⁸⁹ Before that, the duties of the cathedral as an institution already included the recruitment and instruction of priests and canons, and the curriculum required at least an introduction to the arts of the *trivium*.⁹⁰ As was the case everywhere, this enterprise required a school as well as a library.⁹¹ The lack of proper textbooks compelled the bishop to import study material from abroad. Since a significant local traffic of books

⁸⁴ "Annales Posonienses," *SRH* 1, 125. See Holub (1938: 362); Madzsar (1939: 131–2); Holub (1959: 97–101). See also Bartoniak (1940: 1–5); Strittmatter (1963: 491–6); Radó (1973: 40–76).

⁸⁵ Pray (1774: 91); Pray (1776: 242); Wattenbach (1870: 502); Horváth (1981: 11–51).

⁸⁶ See Bak (1993b: 14–6); Kristó (2000: 61–4).

⁸⁷ Maurus, "Legenda SS. Zoerardi et Benedicti," *SRH* 2, 357–8.

⁸⁸ See Békefi (1910: 132–3, 253).

⁸⁹ See Koszta (1998).

⁹⁰ See Pásztor (1962: 71–9); Koszta (1999a: 478–91).

⁹¹ See Maître (1866: 96–139); Bischoff (1972a: 385–415); Ehlers (1996: 29–52).

between Hungarian cathedrals and monasteries at that early stage cannot be assumed, a local codex-copying activity may have started on the basis of foreign *exemplaria*, either borrowings or donations imported by cathedral and monastic schools from abroad.⁹² Partly this is why Bonipert turned to Fulbert of Chartres for a Priscian manuscript. Nevertheless, there was a scholarly attempt at proving that Bonipert only asked for a copy of Priscian in order to compare Fulbert's copy to other copies that were already available at the Pécs cathedral library. According to this hypothesis, Bonipert simply wanted to check his manuscripts against other ones.⁹³ Relevant scholarship, however, has still not reached a consensus about the Priscian manuscript being a borrowing, a kind of a medieval interlibrary loan, or a donation.⁹⁴ Preoccupied with copying liturgical books, the scribes at Pécs could not have afforded such luxury as to copy a Priscian manuscript, and this is why Bonipert had to turn to Fulbert with his book request. It seems therefore more feasible that this Latin grammar was a donation from Fulbert to Bonipert, who, as a bishop, was responsible for the book provision of his cathedral. The episcopal book provision was also an important concern of royal legislation—the first chapter of the second law code of King Stephen decreed the following: *Vestimenta uero et coopertoria rex preuideat, presbiterum et libros episcopi*. The royal order first of all referred to the liturgical books of the churches, but it was certainly also the bishop's responsibility to provide the cathedral community with textbooks.⁹⁵

The need for such an advanced grammar as that of Priscian suggests that there were at least elementary Latin grammars in the Pécs cathedral school and library. Fulbert's Priscian, if it arrived, was obviously not the only or the first book of its type at Pécs in Bishop Bonipert's time. Using Priscian, or even Donatus, to improve grammatical skills already requires an advanced command of Latin. In general, teachers and schoolmasters wrote their own elementary grammars for the beginners, if the students were not already *litterati*. (The concepts of *litteratus* – *clericus* and *illitteratus* – *laicus* – *idiota* already existed in the West by that time.)⁹⁶ Priscian's *Institutiones grammaticae* was not designed for beginners—it has been characterized by an eminent scholar

⁹² See Csapodi (1985: 19).

⁹³ Mészáros (1981: 32). See also Mészáros (1961: 371–98).

⁹⁴ See Mezey (1963: 46); Csapodi (1987: 11–2).

⁹⁵ György Györrffy and Emma Bartoniek, ed., *Szent István törvényeinek XII. századi kézirata az Admonti kódexben (Hasonmás kiadás)* (The twelfth-century manuscript of the laws of Saint Stephen in the Admont codex: facsimile edition) (Budapest: Helikon, 1988), 66; János M. Bak, György Bónis, and James Ross Sweeney, ed., *The Laws of the Medieval Kingdom of Hungary*, vol. 1, 1000–1301 (Idyllwild, CA: Schlacks, 1999), 9. See also Györrffy (1977: 186–7).

⁹⁶ See Bischoff (1938: 9–20); Grundmann (1958: 1–65); Riché (1962b: 175–82); Mezey (1968: 29–46); Dowiat (1973: 7–22); Bäuml (1980: 237–49); Vessey (1992: 139–60); Clanchy (1993: 224–30); Law (1995: 239–61); Wendehorst (1996: 57–88); Briggs (2000: 397–420).

of medieval grammars as “a university-level grammar if ever there was one.”⁹⁷ Bishop Bonipert could have had students already with an advanced command of Latin who needed further training, preparation for and instruction in grammar in particular and the liberal arts in general.

The cultural level of the Pécs cathedral school is extremely difficult to evaluate on the basis of a single book request. Besides, there is no direct evidence of whether Bonipert received the manuscript at all, but it is more important from the present point of view that he did need a Priscian for some reason. Since the other books that were surely present at the cathedral cannot be documented, one must consider contemporary parallels in order to situate the cathedral of Pécs in a wider context. The short account of Arnold, a Benedictine monk from the monastery of Saint Emmeram in Regensburg, provides information on the cathedral of Esztergom. Arnold sailed down the River Danube around 1030 to Hungary and spent some time in Esztergom as a guest of Archbishop Anastasius. During his stay, Arnold composed a liturgical office in honor of Saint Emmeram and sought the approval of the Esztergom chapter for his work; the archbishop made his clerics and monks learn it by heart: *Erat quedam necessitas pro qua in Pannoniam me direxerat meus abbas... Apud quem sex ebdomadas manens, memoriae sanctissimi patroni antiphonas aliquantas cum responsoriis composui, non tam fretus ingenio quam dedito laudibus martiris animo. Has prefatus episcopus monachos et clericos suos fecit discere, et in ecclesia die ipsius natali publice celebrare... Is cum beati Emmerammi ueterem illum et uiciatum legeret librum, materiam probauit cum sententiis; sed harum seriem cum ueste reprehendit pondere rationis.*⁹⁸

There is no earlier detailed narrative source on the formation of a cathedral school in medieval Hungary than the fourteenth-century *Legenda maior* of Bishop Saint Gerard, which provides a description of the establishment of the cathedral school at Csanád: *Episcopus autem erat in magna sollicitudine ex parte pauperum scolarium ac monachorum et hospitum, ad cuius domum ducebantur paruuli et tradebantur ad scolas, qui tam sollicite informabantur, ut noctes pro diebus computarentur.* This hagiographic account, however, does not reflect the circumstances of the early eleventh century and therefore cannot fully apply to the cathedral of Pécs in Bonipert’s time.⁹⁹ It is significant, on the other hand, that the hagiographic sources of medieval Hungary often highlight the importance of grammar in the formative years and the activities of a saint. The *Legenda minor* of King Saint Stephen provides the following: *Hic Strigoniensi oppido nativitatis exordium habuit, et puer adhuc scientia grammaticae artis ad*

⁹⁷ Law (1992: 28). See also Robins (1951: 69–90).

⁹⁸ Arnold of Saint Emmeram, “De miraculis et memoria beati Emmerammi,” *PL* 141, 994; Nándor Knauz, ed., *Monumenta ecclesiae Strigoniensis*, vol. 1, *Ab a. 979. ad a. 1273.* (Esztergom: Horák, 1874), 42; David Hiley, ed., *Historia Sancti Emmerammi Arnoldi Vohburgensis circa 1030* (Ottawa: Institute of Medieval Music, 1996), xx. See also Veszprémy (1985: 137–41); Geary (1994: 158–76).

⁹⁹ “Legenda sancti Gerhardi episcopi,” *SRH* 2, 495.

plene imbutus est. (This passage is literally the same in Hartvic's legend of Saint Stephen.) The legend of Prince Saint Emeric gives a similar account: *Puer quoque nutritus sub diligenti custodia, primo omni scientia grammaticae artis imbutus est.* The *Legenda maior* of Saint Gerard reports on the teaching activity at the cathedral of Csand: *Quibus susceptis, eos sub manu magistri Waltheri constituit, dans eis unam domum ad hec aptam, ut eos scientiis grammaticae et musice informaret.*¹⁰⁰

The perception of medieval hagiographers about the importance of grammar in eleventh-century Hungary still does not explain to what extent it was a characteristic feature of eleventh-century cathedral schools to have copies of Priscian's exhaustive Latin grammar. Nearly contemporary cathedral library catalogs prove that Priscian's grammar was essential in teaching Latin in the cathedral schools. Having a Priscian was more or less a common feature of Central and Western European cathedral libraries, but by no means automatic. The library catalog of the Cracow cathedral from 1110 lists such Latin classics as Terence, Sallust, Ovid, Persius and Statius, but no Priscian. A certain *Regule gramaticae*, however, figures in the list.¹⁰¹ The late tenth-century inventory of the cathedral chapter of Freising lists the following entries of interest: *Priscianus... Priscianus minor. Donatus maior et minor...*¹⁰² The book register of the Bamberg cathedral chapter compiled around 1100 says the following: *Isti sunt libri Bambergensis aecclesiae, qui magistro G. commissi sunt: Prisciani duo...* The presence of these two copies of Priscian among such Latin classics as Vergil, Horace, Pliny and Servius attests that grammars and classical authors were treated similarly in medieval libraries or at least in their catalogs.¹⁰³ Around 1057-1064, Meinhard of Bamberg wrote a letter to his student that closely resembles Fulbert's letter to Bonipert: *Priscianum, quem rogasti, cum libello nostro de maxima propositione transmisi.*¹⁰⁴ A mid-eleventh-century library catalog of Perrecy contains the following entries of interest: *Pronostica iuliani cum catone... Donati iii... Liber prisciani de duodecim uersibus uirgilii... Liber paruulus de nominibus et uerbis...*¹⁰⁵ Going further west, there is no trace indicating that the Salisbury cathedral library had any copy of Priscian in the eleventh century.¹⁰⁶ The Worcester cathedral library, however, had one copy of the

¹⁰⁰ "Legenda minor sancti Stephani regis," *SRH* 2, 394; Hartvic, "Legenda sancti Stephani regis," *SRH* 2, 407; "Legenda sancti Emerici ducis," *SRH* 2, 449; "Legenda sancti Gerhardi episcopi," *SRH* 2, 494.

¹⁰¹ August Bielowski, ed., *Monumenta Poloniae historica*, vol. 1 (Warsaw: Pastwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1960), 377. See also Vetusani (1951: 489-507); Mews (2002: 93-5).

¹⁰² Gnter Glauche and Hermann Knaus, ed., *Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge Deutschlands und der Schweiz*, vol. 4.2, *Bistum Freising – Bistum Wrzburg* (Munich: Beck, 1979), 626. See also Daniel (1973: 49-50).

¹⁰³ Paul Ruf, ed., *Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge Deutschlands und der Schweiz*, vol. 3.3, *Bistum Bamberg* (Munich: Beck, 1939), 340. See also Irvine (1994: 334-44).

¹⁰⁴ Carl Erdmann and Norbert Fickermann, ed., *MGH: Die Briefe der deutschen Kaiserzeit*, vol. 5, *Briefsammlungen der Zeit Heinrichs IV.* (Weimar: Bhlau, 1950), 130. See also Ferrari (2000: 107-23).

¹⁰⁵ Lejay (1896: 231-2).

¹⁰⁶ See Ker (1976: 23-49).

Priscianus maior at the end of the eleventh century.¹⁰⁷ The chapter of Tortosa in Catalonia also possessed a copy of the *Priscianus maior* with interlinear and marginal glosses in the eleventh century with the following explicit: *Explicit liber Prisciani grammatici, doctoris Romae*.¹⁰⁸ Finally, according to a document in the Barcelona archive, the Barcelona cathedral purchased a hundred-year old codex of the *Grammatica Prisciani* from a Jew for a house and a farm in 1044.¹⁰⁹

The later presence of Priscian in medieval Hungary is also problematic. The preface of Bishop Hartvic's legend of Saint Stephen, written around 1100, starts with a dedication to King Coloman of Hungary and makes an important reference to Priscian: *Domino suo Colomanno regi precellentissimo Cartuicus episcopus officium spirituale per misericordiam dei consecutus, post istius uite terminum felix illud euge sempiternum. Incepturnus opus, domine mi rex inclite, quod michi uestro regali precepto de uita beati regis Stephani potentialiter iniunxisti, diu rebellem ingeniali mei perpessus sum inscitiam ob hoc presertim, Priscianus auctor artis grammaticae, medullitus mihi notus olim, longe digressus, faciem suam quasi caligine quadam circumfluam mihi decrepito iam facit obscurissima (sic)*.¹¹⁰ The peculiar adverb *medullitus* appears earlier in the *Deliberatio* of Bishop Gerard of Csand: *Nec dubites iterum in illorum ossibus conuersari Spiritum sanctum, qui medullitus fuerunt illius, qui loquitur suis...*¹¹¹ Hartvic's reference implies the use of Priscian not only as a grammar but also as a tool of stylistic matters. It can be debated how profoundly he knew Priscian, but he certainly acquired his grammatical and stylistic expertise in his formative years abroad. He was not young when he arrived in Hungary, and thus his reference to Priscian does not originate from Hungarian schooling. Explaining this reference, the Bollandists contended that by the standards of his contemporaries, Hartvic *mediocriter Latine scripsit*.¹¹² The stylistic significance of Hartvic's reference to Priscian appears in other hagiographic writings as well. Ekkehard of Saint Gall, for instance, writes the following in the preface to his biography of Notker Balbulus: *Nos itaque nec Donati regulis ad plenum imbuti, uel grammatica Prisciani, minusue dialecticis uersutiis exercitati, nec rhetoricae floribus philosophicae eloquentiae exhilarati, non in sublimitate sermonis, ea quae collegimus, uere fideli humilitate, dictante rationis iustitia exequemur*.¹¹³ Peter of Saint Aubert employs a similar sort of recusation: *In his ergo solicite descri-*

¹⁰⁷ See Bannister (1917: 389). See also Richard Sharpe, J.P. Carley, R.M. Thomson, and A.G. Watson, ed., *English Benedictine Libraries: The Shorter Catalogues* (London: British Library, 1996), 651–9.

¹⁰⁸ Denifle and Chatelain (1896: 15). See also Alturo (1996: 370–9).

¹⁰⁹ See Hnel (1847: 86).

¹¹⁰ Hartvic, “*Legenda sancti Stephani regis*,” *SRH* 2, 401.

¹¹¹ Gerard of Csand, “*Deliberatio supra hymnum trium puerorum*,” *CCCM* 49, 167.

¹¹² *AASS Septembris* 1, 562. See also Ogle (1926: 177); Kardos (1941: 49); Horvth (1954: 34, 37); Cska (1966: 93–4); Cska (1967a: 155–7); Mezey (1970a: 654–5); Mezey (1979: 107–9); reviewed by Boronkai (1980: 273); Krist (see n. 13, 317).

¹¹³ Ekkehard of Saint Gall, “*Vita beati Notkeri Balbuli*,” *AASS Aprilis* 1, 577.

*bendis rei magis ueritatem, quam narrationem simplicitate sermonis ordinare inten-
dens, studiosos deprecor auditores, ut si rusticitate loquendi, uel Donati uel Prisciani
transgressione regularum, qui non cognoui litteraturam, deliqui in aliquo, insipientiae
meae parcant: quoniam eorum in regulis non instructus plenum, nec coloris rhetorici
facetias nec ornatum eloquentiae didici Tullianae.¹¹⁴* The preface to the *Legenda minor* of King Saint Stephen of Hungary also applies the literary convention of dismissing the standards of classical Latin grammar. At the same time, however, the author of the legend alludes to the poetry of Persius (*Satura* pr.1–3, 14: *Nec fonte labra proliu
caballino/ nec in bicipiti somniasse Parnaso/ memini, ut repente sic poeta prodirem...
cantare credas Pegaseum nectar*) in the following way: *Nec doctas compositasque
grammaticorum lineas aut philosophorum interpretationes, seu sophistica acumina
imitamur, quia stultum est in altum nauigare, si non possit ad portum transmeare. Illi
ista autem, qui secundum poeticas fabulas Pegaseo fonte potati sunt, qui se som-
niassie inter sacra Parnasi gloriabantur.¹¹⁵*

Bishop Bonipert's connection to Bishop Fulbert of Chartres represented the beginning of a tradition of Western ties in Pécs through the Middle Ages, including the appointment of a Frenchmen, Bishop Bartholomew of Pécs (1219–1251), and the foundation of the university of Pécs by the Angevin king of Hungary, Louis the Great, in 1367.¹¹⁶ Overall, Bishop Bonipert's book request is the first instance that explicitly documents the acknowledgment of a classical Latin work. This helps to explain the status of Latin literacy in early eleventh-century Hungary and also to what extent it was based on the Latin classics. These aspects of teaching and learning advanced Latin grammar in a recently established cathedral school demonstrate how the Latin language facilitated a slow cultural innovation in a recently converted country and show that literary encounters did not cease to cross political borders. This is the way in which the letter of Bishop Fulbert of Chartres to Bishop Bonipert of Pécs marks the starting point of the classical tradition in medieval Hungary.¹¹⁷

¹¹⁴ Peter of Saint Aubert, “*Vita sanctae Dympnae virginis martyris*,” *AASS Maii* 3, 485.

¹¹⁵ “*Legenda minor sancti Stephani regis*,” *SRH* 2, 393. See Zwierlein (2002: 79–101).

¹¹⁶ See Gabriel (1969: 9–35); Koszta (1996: 71–96).

¹¹⁷ See Cserei (1884: 18–22); Graham (1968: 163–5); Borzsák (1979: 59–60); Borzsák (1998: 258); Nermekényi (2001d: 39–53).

CHAPTER TWO

The *Admonitions* of King Saint Stephen of Hungary

The *Admonitions* of King Saint Stephen of Hungary is a mirror of princes composed around 1015. Its most important witnesses are two late medieval codices: the Thuróczi codex (Budapest, Országos Széchényi Könyvtár, Cod. Lat. 407, fol. 73r–79v), copied in the late fifteenth century, and the Ilosvay codex (Budapest, Országos Széchényi Könyvtár, Fol. Lat. 4023, fol. 9r–11v), written in 1544. Both manuscripts contain the law codes of King Stephen as well.¹¹⁸ Partly based on the late manuscript tradition, hypercritical scholars suggested that the *Admonitions* was a humanist forgery or at least an interpolated and stylistically polished text; however, their suspicion has no serious advocate today, all the more lacking in such because the *Admonitions* is already mentioned in and exerted an influence on the hagiographic writings of medieval Hungary.¹¹⁹ The *Admonitions* ends with the words *Explicit liber primus*; it was therefore traditionally considered to have been an introduction to the laws of King Stephen. The most influential representative of this tradition is the *Corpus iuris Hungarici*, the ancestor of many editions of the *Admonitions* ever since the sixteenth century.¹²⁰ However, the so-called Admont codex, the oldest manuscript of King Stephen's laws, copied in the twelfth century (Budapest, Országos Széchényi Könyvtár, Cod. Lat. 433), does not contain the *Admonitions*. This omission is certainly justified, because the *Admonitions* is not a legal text but a mirror of princes, a politico-ethical treatise meant to instruct Prince Emeric, teenage son of King Stephen.¹²¹ The text has been printed many times, including the Bollandists' *Acta sanctorum* and Migne's *Patrologia Latina*. József Balogh provided the critical edition in the *Scriptores rerum Hungaricarum* in 1938.¹²²

¹¹⁸ See Csapodi and Csapodiné Gárdonyi (1995: 26, 118); Ladányi (1983: 253–62).

¹¹⁹ See Bollók (1986: 61–7); Szovák (1993: 241–64); Kristó (1999: 844–7). See also Engel (1813: 132–3); M. Florianus, ed., *Historiae Hungaricae fontes domestici*, vol. 1 (Pécs: Taizs, 1881), 220–32; Havas (2001c: 87–107).

¹²⁰ Dezső Márkus, ed., *Corpus iuris Hungarici: Magyar törvénytár 1000–1526* (*Corpus iuris Hungarici*: inventory of Hungarian laws 1000–1526) (Budapest: Franklin Társulat, 1899), 2.

¹²¹ Györffy and Bartoniek (see n. 95). See also Schiller (1910: 382–4); Sawicki (1929: 395–425); Guoth (1943: 4–5); Jánosi (1978: 225–54).

¹²² *AASS Septembris* 1, 543–6; “Monita ad filium,” *PL* 151, 1233–44; “Libellus de institutione morum,” *SRH* 2, 611–27. For translations, see Edouard Jordan, “Les Exhortations de saint Etienne,” *Nouvelle Revue de Hongrie* 31.8 (1938): 130–8; Géza Érszegi, ed., *Árpád-kori legendák és intelmek* (Legends and admonitions from the Árpád age) (Budapest: Szépirodalmi Könyvkiadó, 1983), 54–61; János M. Bak and James Ross Sweeney, “De institutione morum ad Emericum ducem: To Prince Imre concerning Instruction in

Hungarian scholarship has always treated the *Admonitions* extensively, usually with more of a historical than a philological emphasis, most prominently around the years 1938 and 1988, commemorating the nine-hundredth and the nine-hundred-and-fiftieth anniversary of the death of King Saint Stephen of Hungary respectively.¹²³ Most scholars have not doubted that the inspiration came from King Stephen, but the question of authorship is still debated. The oldest tradition attributed the work to the king himself, supported by the image of the *rex iustus* as the holy founder of the Christian kingdom of Hungary.¹²⁴ This tradition originates in the hagiographic literature. The *Legenda maior* of King Saint Stephen, composed around 1083, speaks of the king as the author of the work: *Ipse quoque paterne dilectionis ardore conspicutus libellum de institutione morum constituit, in quo fideliter et amicabiliter uerbis eum admonitionis spiritualis alloquitur instruens...* The legend of Prince Saint Emeric, dated to the period between 1109 and 1112, and the legend of Saint Stephen by Bishop Hartvic adapted this passage almost verbatim.¹²⁵

Before reviewing the differing opinions about the authorship, it should be noted that the hagiographic tradition prompts an attempt at interpreting the title *Libellus de institutione morum* in a classical, patristic and medieval literary context. The diminutive noun *libellus*, from *liber*, like *codicellus* from *codex*, refers to a relatively short text, according to the practice of naming books in the intellectual and bibliographical vocabulary of the Middle Ages.¹²⁶ The title *de institutione morum* suggests that the *Admonitions* belongs to the medieval literary topic of the *instructio morum*, which in turn is a descendent of the classical legacy. Classical authors already applied the terms *institutio* or *instructio morum* – Cicero, *De officiis* 1.33.120: *morum institutorumque*; Cicero, *De re publica* 2.4.8: *institutis et moribus*; Cicero, *Tusculanae disputationes* 1.1.2: *mores et instituta*; Ovid, *Tristia* 2.258: *ad uitium mores instruet inde suos*; Gellius, *Noctes Atticae* 14.7.9: *nouum morem institutum*. Patristic and early medieval authors took over these classical concepts – Arnobius: *Nonne omnia cetera, quibus uita succingitur et continetur humana, suis omnes in gentibus patriarchum celebrant institutionibus morum?*; Boethius: *morum institutione*; Isidore of Seville: *Post logicam sequitur ethica, quae ad institutionem pertinet morum*; Hrabanus Maurus: *tropologia in instructione morum ad amorem uirtutis*; Hrabanus Maurus: *Nam quia de eruditione doctrinae et institutione morum praedicatores uerbi Dei iuxta traditionem maiorum*

Virtuous Conduct,” *New Hungarian Quarterly* 29.4 (1988): 98–105; Kristó (see n. 13, 124–40); Dag Tesiore, ed., *Stefano d’Ungheria: Esortazioni al figlio – Leggi e decreti* (Rome: Città Nuova, 2001), 37–69.

¹²³ See Szűcs (1972: 17–40); Szovák and Veszprémy, ed., *SRH* 2, 792–4.

¹²⁴ See Váczy (1935: 86–91); Klaniczay (2002: 114–54).

¹²⁵ “*Legenda maior sancti Stephani regis*,” *SRH* 2, 391; Hartvic, “*Legenda sancti Stephani regis*,” *SRH* 2, 428; “*Legenda sancti Emerici ducis*,” *SRH* 2, 449–50. See also Nora Berend, “Hartvic: Life of King Stephen of Hungary,” in *Medieval Hagiography: An Anthology*, ed. Thomas Head (New York and London: Garland, 2000), 390.

¹²⁶ See Dolbeau (1989: 79–99).

hactenus aliquantum instituimus...; Haymo of Halberstadt: *Sapientia est cognitio diuinorum, prudentia est instructio morum...* *Mores informat, cum docet haec mundana non esse attendenda...*; Paschasius Radbertus: *et doctrina fidei ex ipso eodemque opere ad institutionem morum proficiat in mysterio.*¹²⁷ Besides the classical and patristic antecedents, the *Accessus ad auctores* provides a parallel literary setting to that of the *Admonitions*, with a very similar vocabulary. Its chapter *Accessus Catonis*, based on the commentary on the *Disticha Catonis* by Remigius of Auxerre, describes Cato writing a *libellus* to his son for the sake of the *utilitas morum*: *Sed Censorinus Cato cum uideret iuuenes et puellas in magno errore uersari scripsit hunc libellum ad filium suum insinuans ei rationem bene iuendi, et per eum docens cunctos homines ut iuste et caste iuuant...* *Dicitur autem ideo ad filium suum scripsisse, ut eo utiliora collegisse putetur...* *Utilitas est hunc librum legentibus ut uitam suam sapienter instituere agnoscant. Ethice subponitur quia ad utilitatem morum nititur...* *Dum uero dicit ubi errorem illum intellexerit, scilicet “in uia morum,” in ipsorum morum consideratione dociles nos reddit. Dum autem uocat nos filios dicens “fili karissime” beniuolos nos reddit.*¹²⁸ It seems appropriate to note, therefore, that the way in which hagiographic authors referred to the *Admonitions* reveals that its literary genre was associated with classical and patristic antecedents already in the Middle Ages.

Returning now to the problem of authorship, a sentence in Chapter Nine of the *Admonitions* casts doubt even on the commission by King Stephen: *Tu autem fili mi, quotienscumque ad templum dei curris, ut deum adores cum Salomone, filio regis et ipse semper rex dicas...* Salomon, the son of the king, was in fact the son of King Andrew I of Hungary (1046–1060), and this led to the conclusion that the royal commissioner of the booklet was not King Stephen addressing his son, Emeric, but King Andrew addressing his son, Salomon. It looks more plausible, however, that King Andrew named his sons Salomon and David precisely because these names from the Old Testament occur in the *Admonitions*.¹²⁹ Others dated the work to an even later period, suggesting the year 1083 as a *terminus post quem*, when King Stephen, Prince Emeric and Bishop Gerard were canonized, because of the opening words of the *Admonitions*: *In nomine domini nostri Ihesu Christi. Incipit decretum sancti regis Stephani.*¹³⁰ Most scholars, however, have found the year of the premature death of Prince Emeric, 1031, a con-

¹²⁷ Arnobius, “Adversus nationes libri VII,” *CSEL* 4, 5; Boethius, “Commentaria in Porphyrium,” *PL* 64, 114; Isidore of Seville, “Differentiae,” *PL* 83, 94; Hrabanus Maurus, “Allegoriae in universam sacram scripturam,” *PL* 112, 849; Hrabanus Maurus, “De ecclesiastica disciplina,” *PL* 112, 1193; Haymo of Halberstadt, “Commentarius in Psalmos,” *PL* 116, 361; Paschasius Radbertus, “Expositio in evangelium Matthaei,” *PL* 120, 338.

¹²⁸ Huygens (1953: 304–5); R.B.C. Huygens, ed., *Accessus ad auctores* (Brussels: Latomus, 1954), 15–6. See also Quain (1945: 215–64); Meyer (1997: 390–413).

¹²⁹ *SRH* 2, 626. See Bónis (1956: 135–9); Váczy (1958: 344–5); Bónis (1959: 529–30); Klaniczay (2002: 128).

¹³⁰ *SRH* 2, 619.

vincing *terminus ante quem*. They have proposed arguments for and against the authorship of three major candidates within this chronological limit: Bishop Gerard of Csanad, instructor of Prince Emeric;¹³¹ Archbishop Anastasius of Esztergom, leading person in the royal court;¹³² Thangmar of Hildesheim. Thangmar, a Benedictine who became master of the cathedral school of Hildesheim, might have stayed in Hungary in the 1020s. Textual parallels between the *Admonitions* and Thangmar's biography of Bishop Bernward of Hildesheim convinced the Hungarian Benedictine Church historian J. Lajos Csoka that Thangmar wrote the *Admonitions*. Csoka also suggested that the resemblance between the chapter *De hospitibus suscipiendis* in the Rule of Saint Benedict and Chapter Six, *De detentione et nutrimento hospitum*, in the *Admonitions* is an outcome of Thangmar's authorship.¹³³ Since there has been no decisive proof presented so far, the moderate consensus only suggests that the author was an anonymous cleric, perhaps from Lorraine.¹³⁴ It would, however, certainly add to the solution of the problem of authorship if the language and the quotations of the *Admonitions* could help to establish whether the text reflects a library outside Hungary or one inside Hungary where a foreign author could work.

The work has been studied by historians from various points of view: as a source of constitutional history, a witness to the influence of the Cluniac reform in Hungary, a manifestation of the apocalyptic expectations around the turn of the first millennium, a remnant of eleventh-century Central European 'feudalism', and a work of political theory.¹³⁵ Philologists have discovered that the work features the disciplined Latinity of the Carolingian renaissance, a rhymed Latin prose style with some chiastic constructions.¹³⁶

Besides the Preface, the *Admonitions* is divided into ten chapters: On the Observance of the Catholic Faith (*De obseruanda catholica fide*), On the Reverence for the Clerical Order (*De continendo ecclesiastico statu*), On the Honor due to Prelates (*De impendendo honore pontificum*), On Honoring Magnates and Warriors (*De honore principum et militum*), On Practicing Justice and Patience (*De obseruatione iudicii et*

¹³¹ See *AASS Novembris* 2.1, 480; Batthyany (1827: 53); Wattenbach (1894: 209); Bekefi (1901: 922–90); Zoltvany (1902a: 368–80); Bekefi (1902a: 773–7); Zoltvany (1902b: 870–1); Bekefi (1902b: 872); Manitius (1923: 82–3); Balogh (1931: 158–65); Horvath (1931: 17); Klaniczay (1964: 53–4); Kosztolnyik (1969a: 166–76).

¹³² See Gyorffy (1977: 370–2).

¹³³ "Benedicti regula," *CSEL* 75, 123–6; *SRH* 2, 624–5. See Csoka (1964: 453–62); Csoka (1967a: 9–96); reviewed by Boronkai (1968: 97–103); Geza Erszegi, ed., *Arpad-kori legendak es intelmek* (Legends and admonitions from the Arpad age) (Budapest: Szepirodalmi Konyvkiad, 1983), 201; Sandor V. Kovacs, ed., *A magyar kozepkor irodalma* (The literature of medieval Hungary) (Budapest: Szepirodalmi Konyvkiad, 1984), 321–31, 1103–5. See also Tschan (1942: 16–22); Lutz (1977: 117–25); Radle (1993: 201–5).

¹³⁴ See Kota (1994: 283). See also Torok (1992: 89–101).

¹³⁵ Paurer (1879: 13, 16, 30); Deer (1933: 442–3); Pelsoczy (1970: 527–35); Szekely (1982: 101); Szucs (1988a: 32–53); Racz (2002: 202–4, 294–8).

¹³⁶ See Huszti (1939: 14–6); Meszaros (1940: 6–7); Horvath (1954: 116–31).

patientie), On the Reception and Fostering of Guests (*De detentione et nutrimento hospitum*), On the Importance of the Council (*De magnitudine consilii*), On Sons Following their Elders (*De executione filiorum*), On the Observance of Prayer (*De obseruatione orationis*), On Piety and Mercy and Other Virtues (*De pietate et misericordia, ceterisque uirtutibus*). The overall structure of the work with its tenfold division recalls the ten choirs of angels (as opposed to the more widespread number nine) and the Ten Commandments of the Old Testament, as is explained in the last chapter: *Nam dominus uirtutum ipse est rex regum, sicut sui exercitus celestis plenitudo in denis consistit chorus, sic tue uite conuersatio in decem persistat mandatis.*¹³⁷

The Biblical Latin background of the work is so overwhelming that it is necessary to first give an overview of it so that the classical Latin influence can be seen against the background of the more influential Biblical Latin.¹³⁸ It is important to note that not only did Biblical Latin bring vulgar Latin into classical Latin, a development that also affected characteristic features of medieval Latin, but it also influenced political thought and thus the composition of the works in the genre of the mirror of princes. The influence of the Bible on medieval political theory has repeatedly been a key issue in the inquiries of medieval historians.¹³⁹ An expert of tenth-century political theology once observed about Saint Jerome's Vulgate translation that "the text was read as if God had spoken Latin" and that the Bible offered an open system, a framework of history, a series of models and a doctrine of morality.¹⁴⁰ Indeed, Biblical events served as points of reference for medieval perceptions of rulership.¹⁴¹ Through highlighting one representative borrowing from the Preface and one from each chapter, an informative overview can be provided of how passages of the Bible appear in the *Admonitions*—in fact somewhat more of them than one can find in the learned *apparatus* of Balogh's critical edition and more than previous scholarship has acknowledged.

In the Preface, the king addresses his son: *post me regnabis*. The same phrase figures in 3 Kings 1.13, 3 Kings 1.17 and 3 Kings 1.30: *Salomon filius tuus regnabit post me*. A lexical peculiarity here is the specific Vulgate Latin sense of the verb *regnare* (not simply 'to rule over' as in the Latin of the patristic authors, but rather 'to become king') and a syntactical peculiarity is the use of the preposition *post*.¹⁴² Chapter One, On the Observance of the Catholic Faith, admonishes the son that he should not support heretics unless he is also an *inimicus et ulti*. The adjective *inimicus* was to have a lasting career in the Latinity of medieval Hungary as well, but this phrase came literally

¹³⁷ SRH 2, 627.

¹³⁸ See Sheerin (1996: 137–56); Smolak (2002: 207–30).

¹³⁹ See Marigo (1940: 108–40); Cremaschi (1959: 35–8); Buc (1994); Hen (1998: 277–89); Meens (1998: 345–57); Pletl (2000: 61–7).

¹⁴⁰ Mostert (1987: 82–3).

¹⁴¹ See Reeves (1991: 12–63).

¹⁴² SRH 2, 619. See also Plater and White (1926: 58, 86–7); Souter (1949: 347).

from Psalms (*Hebr.*) 8.3.¹⁴³ Chapter Two, On the Reverence for the Clerical Order, speaks of the Church that is founded *a capite nostro, scilicet Christo*. The metaphor is from Ephesians 5.23: *sicut Christus caput est ecclesiae*, and from Colossians 1.18: *et ipse est caput corporis ecclesiae*.¹⁴⁴ Chapter Three, On the Honor due to Prelates, advises the son that *illos ita custodias, sicut oculorum pupillas*. The Biblical antecedents are Deuteronomy 32.10: *et custodiuisti quasi pupillam oculi sui*, Psalms (*LXX*) 16.8: *custodi me ut pupillam oculi*, and Psalms (*Hebr.*) 16.8: *custodi me quasi pupillam intus in oculo*. This Biblical expression often appeared in patristic and medieval authors, for instance in Cassiodorus (*Aptissime itaque petit custodiri se ut pupillum oculi*) or in Odilo of Cluny (*Idem tamen medietate oculorum pupillae diuisa uerae caecitatis postmodum ostendit uestigia*).¹⁴⁵ Chapter Four, On Honoring Magnates and Warriors, states that the fourth *decor regiminis* is their trust. One of the possible Biblical sources is Psalms (*Hebr.*) 144.12: *et gloriari decoris regni eius*; another is Daniel 4.33: *et ad honorem regni mei decoremque perueni*.¹⁴⁶ Chapter Five, On Practicing Justice and Patience, warns the son: *Time esse iudex*. The same warning occurs in Ecclesiasticus 7.6: *noli quaerere fieri iudex*. The verb *timere* is much commoner in the Vulgate than *metuere*, but its use with the infinitive is not a syntactical peculiarity of Biblical Latin only—it is also classical.¹⁴⁷ Chapter Six, On the Reception and Fostering of Guests, instructs the prince that his realm will suffer great loss *si enim tu destruere, quod ego edificaui, aut dissipare quod congregaui studueris*. The joint application of the two synonymous verbs for destruction, *destruere* and *dissipare*, figures in Isaiah 49.17: *destruentes te et dissipantes a te exibunt*, and Jeremiah 1.10: *ut euellas et destruas et disperdas et dissipes*. The combination of *dissipare* and *congregare* already appears in classical Latin: Cicero, *Tusculanae disputationes* 1.25.62: *qui dissipatos homines congregauit*. Besides Biblical Latin, however, it is mainly transmitted to the Middle Ages by patristic authorities such as Saint Jerome: *si pecora quae congregauerat dissipata lanientur* (quoted verbatim by Hrabanus Maurus).¹⁴⁸ Chapter Seven, On the Importance of the Council, admits that *omnino tamen iuuenes non sunt expellendi consiliis*. The reference to the council of the young also has its Biblical antecedents in 3 Kings 12.14: *et locutus est eis secundum consilium iuuenum dicens*, and 2 Chronicles 10.8: *at ille reliquit consilium senum et cum iuuenis tractare coepit*.¹⁴⁹ Chapter Eight, On

¹⁴³ *SRH* 2, 621. See also *LLMAH* 5, 243–4.

¹⁴⁴ *SRH* 2, 621.

¹⁴⁵ *SRH* 2, 622; Cassiodorus, “*Expositio Psalmorum*,” *CCSL* 97, 146; Odilo of Cluny, “*Liber miraculorum*,” *PL* 142, 988.

¹⁴⁶ *SRH* 2, 623.

¹⁴⁷ *SRH* 2, 624. See also Plater and White (1926: 108); Souter (1949: 421).

¹⁴⁸ *SRH* 2, 625; Saint Jerome, “*Commentarii in epistolam ad Galatas*,” *PL* 26, 437; Hrabanus Maurus, “*Enarrationes in epistolas Pauli*,” *PL* 112, 380. See also *SRH* 2, 621. For *dissipare* combined with *destruere*, see *LLMAH* 3, 191.

¹⁴⁹ *SRH* 2, 625. For the entry *iuuenis*, Chapter Seven of King Stephen’s *Admonitions* is also quoted in

Sons Following their Elders, declares that *ideoque filii sunt, ut obediant parentibus*. The wording echoes that of Saint Paul in Ephesians 6.1: *Filii oboedite parentibus uestris in Domino* and Colossians 3.20: *Fili oboedite parentibus per omnia*.¹⁵⁰ Chapter Nine, On the Observance of Prayer, recommends the son to pray so that God may grant him the virtues by which *uisibiles et inuisibiles uincas inimicos*. The use of the adjective *uisibilis* and its negative also derives from Saint Paul – Colossians 1.16: *uisibilia et inuisibilia siue throni siue dominationes siue principatus siue potestates*, and Hebrews 11.3: *ut ex inuisibilibus uisibilia fierent*. The abundance of verbal adjectives, in *-bilis* and their negatives, in *in-*, is one of the Vulgate Bible's lexical peculiarities.¹⁵¹ This Pauline expression had a strong echo in patristic and Carolingian Latin – Arnobius: *siue uisibiles siue inuisibiles inimici*; Saint Augustine: *et ex illo animante uisibili ad hunc inuisibilem inimicum nostrum*; Saint Augustine: *Quia ergo sunt inuisibiles inimici, inuisibiliter sunt expugnandi. Quippe hostem uisibilem uincis feriendo: inuisibilem uincis credendo. Visibilis est hostis homo; uisibile est ferire: inuisibilis est hostis diabolus; inuisibile est et credere. Est ergo pugna inuisibilis aduersus inuisibiles inimicos*; Bede the Venerable: *eripe me de omni impedimento Satanae et ministrorum eius uisibilium et inuisibilium, infidelium tuorum inimicorum quaerentium animam meam*; Alcuin: *et uictorem faciat omnium inimicorum tuorum, seu uisibilium, seu inuisibilium*; Smaragdus of Saint Mihiel: *Illi praeliantur contra uisibiles, isti contra inuisibiles inimicos*; Hrabanus Maurus: *omnesque inimicos suos, tam uisibiles quam etiam inuisibiles*; Hincmar of Reims: *et ab omnibus uisibilium et inuisibilium inimicorum insidiis*; Remigius of Auxerre: *magna multitudo uisibilium et inuisibilium inimicorum*.¹⁵² Finally, Chapter Ten, On Piety and Mercy and Other Virtues, employs a Biblical allusion that was already partly traced back in Balogh's critical edition: *Nam dominus uirtutum ipse est rex regum*. The Biblical models of this formulation include Psalms (LXX) 23.10: *Dominus uirtutum ipse est rex gloriae*, 1 Timothy 6.15: *rex regum et Dominus dominantium*, Apocalypse 17.14: *quoniam Dominus dominorum est et rex regum*, and Apocalypse 19.16: *rex regum et Dominus dominantium*. Among the unusual meanings in the Vulgate Bible, *uirtus* also denotes power and army besides virtue—especially in the Psalms. In the plural, as contrasted with the noun *uis* in the sin-

LLMAH 5, 463.

¹⁵⁰ SRH 2, 626.

¹⁵¹ SRH 2, 627. See also SRH 2, 621: *His quidem armis mentis contra inuisibiles et uisibiles legitime dimicare poteris inimicos*; Plater and White (1926: 48); Souter (1949: 108). The representative occurrences of the adjective *inuisibilis* in the literary sources of medieval Hungary are recorded in LLMAH 5, 378.

¹⁵² Arnobius, "Commentarii in Psalmos," CCSL 25, 127; Saint Augustine, "De Genesi contra Manichaeos," PL 34, 210; Saint Augustine, "Sermones," PL 38, 435; Bede the Venerable, "Libellus precum," PL 94, 529; Alcuin, "Epistola," PL 100, 278; Smaragdus of Saint Mihiel, "Commentaria in regulam sancti Benedicti," PL 102, 696; Hrabanus Maurus, "Expositio in librum Esther," PL 109, 663; Hincmar of Reims, "Coronationes regiae," PL 125, 807, 811; Remigius of Auxerre, "Enarrationes in Psalmos," PL 131, 766.

gular, it can also mean mighty works or miracles in the Latin of the patristic authors as well. The genitive construction *rex regum*, following the type of *caelum caeli* or *sae-cula saeculorum*, is a Hebraism in Biblical Latin—a sort of a qualitative genitive where the genitive is also applied to heighten the meaning of the noun in the nominative and raise it to a superlative.¹⁵³

Primarily, these examples illustrate lexical, grammatical and stylistic similarities between the Latinity of the Bible and that of King Saint Stephen's *Admonitions*. They, however, also represent the author's dependence on the Bible. When quoting the Bible, the author usually prefers the Old Testament—the Book of Kings, the Prophets and the Psalms—although it is important to note that the quotations might also reflect the influence of liturgical texts, especially in the case of the Psalms, as well as coronation *ordines*. The early medieval popularity of the Old Testament readings thus probably left its mark on the composition of the *Admonitions* as well.¹⁵⁴ Furthermore, the emphasis on the Old Testament indicates the Biblical roots of the idea of sacral kingship and the combination of royal and sacerdotal functions in the work. Recently, Pál Engel stressed the dualism of *rex et sacerdos* in the *Admonitions*.¹⁵⁵ Earlier, Horst Fuhrmann examined a similar problem of the *rex clericus*: that is, the theoretical background of the clerical aspect of medieval kingship. He also stressed the issue from the historian's point of view.¹⁵⁶ One cannot attempt to assess what the *historische Wirklichkeit* was at the given place and time of the composition of the *Admonitions*. As manifested here in its Latinity, however, the textual evidence suggests that the relevant Old Testament representations of good kings and tyrants, as well as their relation to priests, might very well have affected the anonymous ecclesiastical author's religious attitudes to secular power.

Previous scholarship of the *Admonitions* has already also highlighted the insertion of the Pseudo-Athanasian Creed into Chapter One, On the Observance of the Catholic Faith.¹⁵⁷ The *Symbolum Athanasianum*, also known as *Quicumque uult*, was subject to commentaries in the Latin West from the Carolingian period. One of the manuscripts of these anonymous commentaries, such as a tenth-century copy of the *Expositio symboli Athanasiani* from Saint Emmeram in Regensburg (Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 14508, fol. 71–76), could have been accessible to the author of the *Admonitions* too.¹⁵⁸ Another important source could be the *De duodecim abusiis saeculi* of Pseudo-Cyprian, in fact written in Ireland around 700. It also relies strongly on the

¹⁵³ SRH 2, 627. See also Plater and White (1926: 20, 56); Souter (1949: 444).

¹⁵⁴ See Dunbabin (1985: 31–41).

¹⁵⁵ Engel (2001: 38). See also Váczy (1934: 27–41); Pelsőczy (1971: 513–20).

¹⁵⁶ See Fuhrmann (1984: 321–6). See also Skubiszewski (1985: 133–79); Wollasch (1985: 35–48); Seibert (1997: 205–66).

¹⁵⁷ SRH 2, 621.

¹⁵⁸ See Haring (1972: 208–52).

Old Testament image of the king, and it certainly influenced Jonas of Orléans, Sedulius Scottus, Hincmar of Reims, Ratherius of Verona and Abbo of Fleury. Not only is its passage on the *rex iniquus* (*Nonus abusionis gradus est rex iniquus*) quoted by Hincmar of Reims (*beati Cypriani pontificis et martyris gloriosi sententias huic opusculo subnectere dignum duximus... Ait enim in libro de duodecum seculi abusiis... Nonus, inquit, abusionis est gradus, rex iniquus*) and the eleventh-century *Collectio canonum* (*Nonus abusionis gradus est: rex iniquus qui cum malorum sectator esse uult*), but it also shows striking similarities to the text of the *Admonitions*.¹⁵⁹

The *Admonitions* applies the rhymed Latin prose of the Carolingian renaissance; however, as the philologist János Horváth pointed out, citing the standard Latin of the Bible does not allow the author to expand on the rhymed prose style. Just like the Latin Bible, the author usually avoids long and complicated sentences—except for the Preface, where Biblical quotations rarely obstruct the use of rhymes. For instance, to mention one example proposed by Horváth: *poteris... contempseris... non eris*.¹⁶⁰ The same rhymes appear already in Ovid's poetry (*Remedia amoris* 504: *qui poterit sanum fingere, sanus erit*, and 794: *oscula cum poteris iam dare, sanus eris*) and in an anonymous patristic text: *Si mandata diuina contempseris, impunitus esse non poteris*.¹⁶¹ Although prose rhyme and rhythm are only two elements of the artistic style, they are important indicators of the author's schooling. It is therefore appropriate to note here that one of the reputed masters of the *cursus* of prose rhythm in medieval Latin was Hincmar of Reims, himself also an eminent representative of the Carolingian tradition of mirrors of princes.¹⁶² Thus, the author's alternation between observation of and abstention from prose rhyme and rhythm, typical stylistic devices of the art of medieval Latin prosody, also indicates the possibilities and the limits of employing the Latin of the Bible, which serves as an important model of the *Admonitions*. This way of applying Biblical Latin reveals linguistically that the author's point of reference is the Bible in many regards: the personal devotion of the king, his religious duties, and the Christian virtues combined with his royal dignity, that is, the moral function and the divine legitimization of political authority.¹⁶³

It would be important to establish through what filters the Biblical quotations ap-

¹⁵⁹ Pseudo-Cyprian, *De XII abusivis saeculi*, ed. Siegmund Hellmann (Leipzig: Hinrich, 1909), 51; Hincmar of Reims, “De divortio Lotharii regis et Theutbergae reginae,” *MGH: Concilia* 4.1, 259; “Collectio canonum in V libris,” *CCCM* 6, 143. See also Boyer (1947: 209–22); Anton (1982: 568–617); Riché (1984: 387); Nelson (1996: 2).

¹⁶⁰ *SRH* 2, 619. See Horváth (1954: 116–31); reviewed by Galgócz (1954: 234–42); Mészáros (1940: 6–7). Ede Mészáros was one of the few scholars who dedicated a systematic study to the use of the Bible in the literature of medieval Hungary: see Mészáros (1936).

¹⁶¹ “Appendix ad s. Fulgentii opera,” *PL* 65, 949.

¹⁶² See Janson (1975: 36–40). See also Ronconi (1934: 99–120); Tunberg (1996: 111–21).

¹⁶³ See Carlyle and Carlyle (1950: 106–14).

peared in the work, because some passages of the *Admonitions* that reflect Biblical Latin might have been adapted indirectly through the mediation of liturgical and patristic texts. Even if the author was not working with secondhand quotations, he could still depend on the actual format of the Bible that he was using. Medieval library catalogs often record two basic forms of the Bible: the so-called *bibliotheca integra*, in one volume, and the *bibliotheca dispersa*, sometimes containing selected texts in separate volumes and stored at different locations for various purposes.¹⁶⁴ These issues are still subject to further inquiries in the domain of medieval Latin philology. One can, however, conclude the overview of the influence of Biblical Latin on the *Admonitions* by pointing to a recent scholarly observation on the ceremony of the Ottonian royal and imperial *aduentus*: its archetype could have been the entry of Jesus into Jerusalem on Palm Sunday. If so, this is certainly a spectacular Biblical parallel to an important tenth-century ritual of political representation.¹⁶⁵ It is in this wider context that a recognition of the influence of Biblical Latin offers a better understanding of the relation between the different factors that influenced the composition of the *Admonitions*. Against its prevalent Biblical Latin background, the classical influence on the work can be interpreted at its proper level, which is actually secondary but no less important from the point of view of the author's Latinity.¹⁶⁶

Even if the authorship is not established, the text suggests that the anonymous author did have access to the Latin classics in one way or another. In the Carolingian mirrors of princes, antecedents of King Saint Stephen's *Admonitions* in many regards, the use of Latin classics contributed to the justification of political ideas by the authority of Roman antiquity, and thus complemented the application of Biblical models. An important literary product of the Carolingian image of the exemplary ruler, Einhard's life of Charlemagne, for instance, is a combination of Ciceronian rhetoric and Suetonian biography. In fact, Einhard could have had access to both Cicero and Suetonius in the monastic library of Fulda. Imitating Suetonius' account (*Tiberius* 70.1: *Artes liberales utriusque generis studiosissime coluit*), Einhard provides a colorful picture of Charlemagne's interest in the liberal arts, primarily grammar, rhetoric, dialectic and astronomy, but the credibility of this idealistic panorama is somewhat undermined by Einhard's addition about Charlemagne's illiteracy: *Artes liberales studiosissime coluit, earumque doctores plurimum ueneratus magnis adficiebat honoribus. In discenda grammatica Petrum Pisanum diaconem senem audiuit, in ceteris disciplinis Albinum cognomento Alcoinum, item diaconem, de Brittania Saxonici generis hominem, uirum undecumque doctissimum, praeceptorem habuit, apud quem et rethoricae et dialecticae, praecipue tamen astronomiae ediscenda plurimum et temporis et laboris inper-*

¹⁶⁴ See Milde (1996: 269–78). See also Duchet-Suchaux and Lefèvre (1984: 13–23).

¹⁶⁵ See Warner (2001: 255–83). See also Warner (1995: 53–76).

¹⁶⁶ See Nemerkényi (2002–2003: 281–8).

tiuit. Discebat autem computandi et intentione sagaci siderum cursum curiosissime rimabatur. Temptabat et scribere tabulasque et codicellos ad hoc in lecto sub ceruicalibus circumferre solebat, ut, cum uacuum tempus esset, manum litteris effigiendis adsucesceret, sed parum successit labor praeposterus ac sero inchoatus. This passage clearly shows the Carolingian appreciation of secular learning and classical sources in the context of presenting an image of the ideal ruler.¹⁶⁷ This is just like the anonymous author of the poem *Karolus magnus et Leo papa*, who uses Vergil's *Aeneis* in comparing Charlemagne to Aeneas.¹⁶⁸

Turning to the Carolingian mirrors of princes proper, their authors were all well trained in the Latin classics. Smaragdus of Saint Mihiel, author of a mirror of princes called *Via regia*, also wrote a commentary on the grammar of Donatus—he declares in its preface that instead of Vergil, Cicero and other pagan authorities, he provides Biblical sentences for grammatical training: *Quem libellum non Maronis aut Ciceronis uel etiam aliorum paganorum auctoritate fulciui, sed Diuinarum Scripturarum sententiis adornaui, ut lectorem meum iucundo pariter artium et iucundo Scripturarum poculo propinarem, ut grammaticae artis ingenium et Scripturarum Diuinarum pariter ualeat comprehendere sensum.*¹⁶⁹ The *De institutione regia* of Jonas of Orléans also shows a complex relationship to the classics. Jonas quotes a celebrated line from Vergil (*Aeneis* 6.853: *parcere subiectis et debellare superbos*), but in this case it is probably an indirect quotation through the mediation of Saint Augustine's *De ciuitate Dei*.¹⁷⁰ A reference by Alcuin also suggests the importance of this Augustinian mediation (*Parcere subiectis et debellare superbos. Quem uersiculum beatus Augustinus in libro de ciuitate Dei multa laude exposuit, quamuis magis nobis attendendum sit euangelicis praecoptis, quam Virgiliacis uersibus*). Furthermore, Vergil's famous line appears in the works of Sedulius Scottus (*nam sicut debellare superbos ita et parcere subiectis iustum et misericordem dominatorem oportet*), Lupus of Ferrières (*Paratus est Deus parcere subiectis et debellare superbos*), Henry of Auxerre (*Tutum capietis in eius pietate perfugium, qui semper paratus est parcere subiectis et debellare superbos*) and Adam of Bremen, just to name a few.¹⁷¹ In the *De institutione regia*, Jonas of Orléans

¹⁶⁷ Einhard, “Vita Karoli magni,” *MGH: Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum* 25, 30. See Rand (1926: 40–8); Hellmann (1932: 40–110); Mierow (1944: 195); Sanford (1944: 23); Winterbottom (1983: 399–405); Auerbach (1993: 112–9); Kempshall (1995: 11–37); Bessone and La Conte (1997: 113); Innes (1997: 265–82); Glenn (2001: 179–82).

¹⁶⁸ See Hélin (1951: 411); Zwierlein (1973: 44–52); Godman (1987: 86–91).

¹⁶⁹ Smaragdus of Saint Mihiel, “*Liber in partibus Donati*,” *CCCM* 68, 1. See also Smaragdus of Saint Mihiel, “*Via regia*,” *PL* 102, 931–70; Laistner (1928: 392–7); Eberhardt (1977: 83); Gellrich (1985: 99–100).

¹⁷⁰ Jonas of Orléans, “*De institutione regia*,” *SC* 407, 208; Saint Augustine, “*De ciuitate Dei*,” *CCSL* 47, 144. See also Jonas of Orléans, “*Opusculum de institutione regia ad Pippinum regem*,” *PL* 106, 277–306; Traube (1920: 42–5); Scharf (1961: 333–84).

¹⁷¹ Alcuin, “*Epistolae*,” *PL* 100, 330; Hellmann (1906: 59); Lupus of Ferrières, “*Liber de tribus quaestionibus*,” *PL* 119, 640; Henry of Auxerre, “*De miraculis sancti Germani*,” *PL* 124, 1269; Adam of Bremen,

also makes use of the popular etymology of the noun *rex*: *Rex a recte regendo uocatur; si enim pie et iuste et misericorditer regit, merito rex appellatur...* This etymology already features in Horace, *Epistulae* 1.1.59–60, Priscian (*Ergo “rex” solum, quod a regendo nascitur, peperit ex sese aliud uerbum “regno”*), Cassiodorus (*Rex a regendo dicitur*) and Isidore of Seville (*Reges a recte regendo uocati sunt, ideoque recte faciendo regis nomen tenetur, peccando amittitur*). Quoted from Isidore, the etymology also appears in the *Collectio canonum* in the eleventh century (*Reges a recte regendo uocati sunt*).¹⁷² In his *De rectoribus Christianis*, Sedulius Scottus quotes Vergil, Horace, Ovid and the *Disticha Catonis*.¹⁷³ As the mirrors of princes of Walafred Strabo, Lupus of Ferrières and Hincmar of Reims also demonstrate, this literary genre was strongly dependent on the Latin classics.¹⁷⁴

This Carolingian tradition remained influential in the eleventh century as well. Wipo, court cleric of Emperor Conrad II and contemporary of the author of the *Admonitions*, composed a rhymed instruction booklet dedicated to Henry, heir to the emperor. In this *Prouerbia*, Wipo also quotes a proverb, originally from Terence (*Andria* 60–1: *nam id arbitror/ adprime in uita esse utile, ut nequid nimis*): *Prouerbium “Ne quid nimis” laudatur in primis*.¹⁷⁵ The same proverb of Terence's appears in the grammatical works of Servius (*In Vergili Aeneidos libros* 10.861: *unde et Terentius seruis dat plerumque sententias prudentissimas quidem, sed quae se per naturam offendunt cunctis, ut ne quid nimis*), Priscian, Bede the Venerable and Alcuin, as well as in the works of Ausonius (*Ludus septem sapientum* 155: *Afer poeta uester “ut ne quid nimis”*), Saint Jerome, Saint Augustine, Cassiodorus (*Ubi est sententia gentilium toto orbe celebrata: Ne quid nimis*), Isidore of Seville, Theodulf of Orléans, Smaragdus of Saint Mihiel and Hrabanus Maurus, and also Gerbert of Aurillac and Thangmar of Hildesheim (*Adeptus itaque pontificatum, quanta continencia iuuenile corpus ad uirtutum culmen coegerit, dici non potest, modum in cunctis agendis praecipue amplectens, iuxta illud uiri sapientis: Ne quid nimis*).¹⁷⁶

¹⁷² “Gesta Hammaburgensis ecclesiae pontificum,” *MGH: Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum* 2, 174.

¹⁷³ Jonas of Orléans, “Opusculum de institutione regia ad Pippinum regem,” *PL* 106, 287; Priscian, “Institutionum grammaticarum libri XVIII,” *GL* 2, 432–3; Cassiodorus, “Expositio Psalmorum,” *CCSL* 98, 769; Isidore of Seville, “Sententiae,” *CCSL* 111, 298; “Collectio canonum in V libris,” *CCCM* 6, 146. See Balogh (1928: 580–2).

¹⁷⁴ Hellmann (1906: 1–91). See also Dalley (1995: 1486–92).

¹⁷⁵ See Hincmar of Reims, “De regis persona et regio ministerio ad Carolum calvum regem,” *PL* 125, 833–56; Werminghoff (1902: 193–214); Born (1933: 583–612); Klinkenberg (1956: 82–98); Wallace-Hadrill (1965: 22–41); Anton (1968); Ullmann (1969); Jackson (1994: 31–52).

¹⁷⁶ Wipo, “Proverbia,” *MGH: Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum* 61, 70.

¹⁷⁷ Priscian, “Institutionum grammaticarum libri XVIII,” *GL* 3, 69; Bede the Venerable, “De orthographia,” *CCSL* 123A, 36; Alcuin, “Grammatica,” *PL* 101, 850; Saint Jerome, “Epistulae,” *CSEL* 55, 337; Saint Augustine, “De doctrina Christiana,” *CCSL* 32, 72; Cassiodorus, “Expositio Psalmorum,” *CCSL* 98, 1062; Isidore of Seville, “Sententiae,” *CCSL* 111, 193; Theodulf of Orléans, “Fragmenta sermonum,” *PL* 105,

The authors of mirrors of princes of the thirteenth century also cultivated the classical tradition. This can be illustrated with the warning of the contemporary mirrors of princes to avoid *hybris* or *superbia*.¹⁷⁷ The author of a mirror of princes written in Norway in the middle of the thirteenth century, for instance, also had a limited but informative knowledge of ancient history and literature, and this enabled him to make a few references to Nero and Constantine the Great. This can be explained by taking into account the fact that this mirror of princes reflects the practical knowledge of the royal household acting in the service of the king, rather than the cultural level of a clerical author with more theoretical knowledge than his fellow courtiers.¹⁷⁸ It is a different issue when one deals with mirrors of princes composed in the second half of the thirteenth century by such authors as Saint Thomas Aquinas and Giles of Rome, both of whom authored a *De regimine principum*.¹⁷⁹ Another significant author in this tradition is Marsilius of Padua. In the early fourteenth century, he already practiced political philosophy, and elaborated a distinction between ecclesiastical and secular (that is, papal and imperial) powers at a theoretical level. Analyzing Aristotle's *Politics* in his *Defensor pacis*, he also drew a parallel between the state and its citizens and the body and its organs.¹⁸⁰

Besides the mirrors of princes, the proceedings of the Carolingian councils have also been taken into consideration, because they influenced not only King Stephen's law codes but probably the *Admonitions* as well. Legal historians also emphasized the role of Roman law and canon law in the composition of the work. However, the basic problem with the possible influence of Justinian, for instance, is that the recovery of the *Digesta* can be dated to the period from the mid-eleventh century only.¹⁸¹

Similarly to the Carolingian mirrors of princes and conciliar decrees, the *Admonitions* attributes great importance to the bishops. The representation of the bishops in the work is influenced by the metaphor of the body, the vocabulary of the Bible and the Latin classics, and partly by the Ottonian models. The Preface enumerates the order of the bishops among the hierarchy of dignities by the grace of God to be protected by both divine providence and human precautions: *uniuersa huius uite utilitati dignitati que gratia dei concessa, scilicet regna, consulatus, ducatus, comitatus, pontificatus*,

¹⁷⁷ Smaragdus of Saint Mihiel, "Commentaria in regulam sancti Benedicti," *PL* 102, 917; Hrabanus Maurus, "Commentarii in Ecclesiasticum," *PL* 109, 989; Fritz Weigle, ed., *MGH: Die Briefe der deutschen Kaiserzeit*, vol. 2, *Die Briefsammlung Gerberts von Reims* (Weimar: Böhlau, 1966), 245; Thangmar of Hildesheim, "Vita Bernwardi episcopi Hildesheimensis," *MGH: Scriptores* 4, 759.

¹⁷⁸ See Buschmann (1963: 95).

¹⁷⁹ See Bagge (1987: 98).

¹⁷⁹ See Born (1928: 480–4, 488–91); Berges (1938).

¹⁸⁰ Marsilius of Padua, *The Defender of the Peace*, vol. 2, *The Defensor Pacis* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1956), 63–5. See Black (1992: 58–71).

¹⁸¹ See Závodszky (1904: 13); Balogh (1943: 273–336); Hartmann (1976: 42–8); Schröder (1980: 13–32); Szűcs (1988b: 89–97); Müller (1990: 1–29); Hamza (1995–1996: 27–34); Kosztolnyik (2002: 124).

*ceterasque dignitates, partim diuinis preceptis atque institutis, partim ciuilibus ac nobiliorum etateque prouectorum consiliis suasionibus regi, defendi, coadunari uidem...*¹⁸² The wording of the title of Chapter Two, *De continendo ecclesiastico statu*, echoes Cicero (*Pro Sulla* 22.63: *status enim rei publicae maxime iudicatis rebus continetur*) and Quintilian (*Institutio oratoria* 3.6.42: *His etiam ceteri status contineri dicuntur*). According to this chapter, the ecclesiastical hierarchy is part of the members of the body of Christ: *In regali quidem palatio post fidem ecclesia secundum tenet statum, a capite nostro, scilicet Christo ecclesia primitus seminata, deinde per eius membra, utique apostolos, sanctosque patres transplantata et firmiter edificata, atque per totum orbem diffusa. Et quamuis semper nouam et habeat prolem, in ceteris tamen locis quasi antiqua habetur, hic autem fili carissime in nostra monarchia adhuc quasi iuuenis et nouella predicatur, atque idcirco cautioribus euidentioribusque eget custodibus, ne bonum, quod diuina clementia per suam immensam misericordiam nobis concessit inmeritis, per tuam desidiam et pigritiam atque negligentiam destruatur, et annichiletur. Nam qui minuit aut fedat sancte ecclesie dignitatem, ille Christi corpus mutilare nititur.*¹⁸³ The vocabulary of this passage relies on Biblical, classical and patristic Latin terminology. The following parallels can be considered: *quasi iuuenis et nouella* – Psalms (*LXX*) 143.12: *quorum filii sicut nouella plantationis in iuuentute sua; cautioribus euidentioribusque eget custodibus* – Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria* 6.1.20: *Nam et cauiores ad custodiam sua religiones iudices facit*, Florus, *Epitoma* 2.21.10: *incauiores nancta custodiam in mausoleum*, and Gregory the Great: *ad uirtutum custodiam cautior exsurgit*,¹⁸⁴ *qui minuit aut fedat sancte ecclesie dignitatem* – Cicero, *Brutus* 1.1: *talis auguris dignitatem nostri conlegi deminutam dolebam*, Velleius Paterculus, *Historia Romana* 2.68.5: *minuenda dignitas*, Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria* 8.3.48: *qua rei magnitudo uel dignitas minuitur*, and Justinian, *Digesta* 1.7.35: *Per adoptionem dignitas non minuitur, sed augetur; Christi corpus mutilare* – Curtius Rufus, *Historiae Alexandri magni* 9.2.19: *tam uasta corpora securibus falcibusque mutilata sunt*, and Cassiodorus: *corpora, quae nulla sunt mutilatione truncata*.¹⁸⁵ Then, as in the following passage, the body metaphor is applied to the Church: *Si quis in febre huius ecclesie sancte membra uel paruulos scandalizat...*¹⁸⁶ The wording primarily alludes to Matthew 5.29–30: *Quod si oculus tuus dexter scandalizat te, erue eum et proice abs te. Expedit enim tibi, ut pereat unum membrorum tuorum quam totum corpus tuum mittatur in gehennam. Et si dextera manus tua scandalizat te, abscide eam et proice abs te. Expedit tibi ut pereat unum membrorum tuorum quam totum corpus tuum eat in gehennam*. Furthermore, it also resembles the vocabulary of Saint Jerome (*Nota*

¹⁸² SRH 2, 619.

¹⁸³ SRH 2, 621–2.

¹⁸⁴ Gregory the Great, “*Moralia in Iob*,” CCSL 143, 470.

¹⁸⁵ Cassiodorus, “*Variarum libri XII*,” CCSL 96, 410.

¹⁸⁶ SRH 2, 622.

quod qui scandalizatur paruulus est; maiores enim scandala non recipiunt), Saint Augustine (*carnales paruuli ecclesiae*) and Isidore of Seville (*paruulis ecclesiae*).¹⁸⁷

Applied to the Church, the staging of the body metaphor in Chapter Two of the *Admonitions* serves as a significant prelude to introducing the bishops in Chapter Three, *De impendendo honore pontificum*, entirely devoted to an ideal episcopal model. The key term in the title, *honor pontificum*, has classical and patristic antecedents such as Cicero, *De domo sua* 45.118: *non honoribus populi Romani ornatum pontificem*, Ovid, *Fasti* 3.420: *accessit titulis pontificalis honor*, Servius, *In Vergilii Aeneidos libros* 8.363: *ut sacratae religionis usum tribuat antisti diuina communia, utpote quem etiam pontificali honore nuncupauerat*, and Isidore of Seville: *et dominus pontificum, cui est honor et gloria in saecula saeculorum, amen*. A similar term also occurs later in the legend of Saint Stephen by Hartvic: *pontificali honore*.¹⁸⁸ The whole of Chapter Three runs like this: *Regium solium ornat ordo pontificum ac per hoc in regali dignitate tertium possident locum pontifices, karissime fili, sint tibi seniores, illos ita custodias, sicut oculorum pupillas. Si illorum beniuolentiam habueris, neminem aduersariorum timebis. Illis quidem te obseruantibus eris securus in omnibus; illorum precatio commendabit te omnipotenti deo. Illos enim deus diuini generis constituit custodes fecitque speculatores animarum ac totius ecclesiastice dignitatis atque diuini sacramenti compositores et datores. Sine illis enim nec constituantur reges, nec principiantur; per illorum interuentum delicta delentur hominum. Si illos perfecte amas, te ipsum sine dubio sanas, tuumque regnum honorifice gubernas. In manus enim illorum posita est potestas ligandi nos in peccatis et a peccatis soluendi. Testamentum enim semipiternum statuit illis deus, eosque segregauit ab hominibus et sui nominis atque sanctitatis fecit participes et ab humano die interdixit reprehendendos esse per Dauid deificum regem: Nolite tangere christos meos. Ille enim tangit christos dei, qui contra diuinum atque canonum institutum sacri ordinis uiros falsis criminationibus fedat, atque in publicum prohtrahit. Quod te omnino fili mi agere prohibeo, si uis beatus uiuere et tuum regnum honestare, quia in his rebus imprimis offenditur deus. Si accidente casu culpa reprehensione digna super aliquem horum, de quibus sermo est, ceciderit, quod absit, corripe eum ter, quater inter te et ipsum solum iuxta preceptum ewangelii. Si tunc renuerit audire monita, adhibenda sunt sibi publica secundum hec: Si te non audierit, dic ecclesie. Nam si tu ordinem seruabis gloriosam tuam penitus exaltabis coronam.*¹⁸⁹

As regards the terminology, the author consistently uses the classical term *pontifex* to denote the bishops—instead of the terms *antistes*, *episcopus*, *praesul* or *sacerdos*.

¹⁸⁷ Saint Jerome, “Commentariorum in Matheum libri IV,” *CCSL* 77, 157; Saint Augustine, “De baptismo,” *CSEL* 51, 211; Isidore of Seville, “Sententiae,” *CCSL* 111, 73.

¹⁸⁸ Isidore of Seville, “De ecclesiasticis officiis,” *CCSL* 113, 57; Hartvic, “Legenda sancti Stephani regis,” *SRH* 2, 416.

¹⁸⁹ *SRH* 2, 622–3.

The word choice, in the context of Biblical Latin and its ecclesiastical Latin offspring, is clearly classical. The ambiguous etymology of the term *pontifex* in Roman antiquity is described by Varro, *De lingua Latina* 5.15.83: *Sacerdotes uniuersi a sacris dicti. Pontifices, ut Scaeula Quintus pontifex maximus dicebat, a posse et facere ut potifices. Ego a ponte arbitror; nam ab his sublicius est factus primum, ut restitutus saepe, cum eadem sacra et ulti et cis Tiberim non mediocri ritu fiant.*¹⁹⁰ Varro's etymology had a lasting impact, up to and including the eleventh century. The hagiographic account of Bishop Ermengol of Urgel (died 1035) describes how the holy bishop started building a bridge, worthy of his title of *pontifex*: *Non immerito igitur pontificis nomine Dei cultor fungebatur, quia si animarum saluti pontem parabat, quo iter in caelum dirigeretur, corporum etiam substantiae subiciens, pontem iter facientibus componere nitebatur... Ad hunc siquidem locum praelibatus athleta ueniens, artificibus praemissis, coepit ipse manibus propriis operando pontem construere...*¹⁹¹ Later on, Peter Damian provides the same etymology: *pontifex autem quasi "pontem faciens" ... et sui nominis ethimologiam exhibuit et officium pontificatus impleuit.*¹⁹² The expression *ordo pontificum* already figures in classical Latin (Cicero, *De haruspicum responso* 7.13), but in the *Admonitions* it derives primarily from the Old Testament and Saint Paul (2 Kings 23.4: *Et praecepit rex Heliae pontifici et sacerdotibus secundi ordinis, Nehemiah 13.30: et constitui ordines sacerdotum et Leuitarum, Hebrews 5.10: appellatus a deo pontifex iuxta ordinem Melchisedech, and Hebrews 6.20: secundum ordinem Melchisedech pontifex factus in aeternum*). The term also appears in Cassiodorus (*excelsus ordo pontificum*) and in a hymn by Notker Balbulus (*Nunc omne sacerdotium/ Primus ordo pontificum,/ Clerum ducendo subditum,/ Fletum tergite supplicum*).¹⁹³

The interpretation of the expression *sint tibi seniores* is problematic. In 1949, a Hungarian historian, arguing for the overall political dominance of the Church in medieval Hungary, suggested that the term *senior* referred to the role of the bishops as the king's overlords, not merely elders, in a so-called feudal context.¹⁹⁴ Although the ideal king was to cherish the bishops *sicut oculorum pupillas*, a metaphor from the Old Testament again (Deuteronomy 32.10, Psalms 16.8, Proverbs 7.2, Lamentations 2.18 and Zacharias 2.8), the hypothesis of the bishops as overlords has not been generally accepted. Nevertheless, the *Admonitions* preserved the Carolingian tradition on king-making, as was reported by Archbishop Hincmar of Reims, even though eleventh-century Central European king-making policies did not imitate the Carolingian patterns.¹⁹⁵

¹⁹⁰ See Hallett (1970: 219–27); Kavanagh (2000: 59–65).

¹⁹¹ "Vita sancti Ermengaudi," *AASS Novembris* 2.1, 84. See Bowman (2002: 1–2).

¹⁹² Peter Damian, "Sermones," *CCCM* 57, 225.

¹⁹³ Cassiodorus, "Expositio Psalmorum," *CCL* 98, 1034; Notker Balbulus, "Hymnus de omnibus sanctis," *PL* 87, 58.

¹⁹⁴ Lederer (1949: 82–3).

¹⁹⁵ See Székely (1983: 17–28).

The expression *diuini generis* originates from classical Latin (Cicero, *Timaeus* 11.41: *diuini generis*), but the author certainly applies it in its patristic context as provided by Novatianus (*semen quoddam diuini generis*), Arnobius (*diuini generis et potestatis*) and the *Sacramentarium Gelasianum* (*ut sicut nomine Patris et Filii diuini generis intelligimus ueritatem*).¹⁹⁶ In the context of divine sacrament, however, the choice of the noun *compositores* apparently stands unparalleled. Its meaning was naturally different in classical Latin (Cicero, *Orator* 19.61: *non enim inuentor aut compositor aut actor*, Ovid, *Tristia* 2.356: *plus sibi permisit compositore suo*, and Servius, *In Vergilii Aeneidos libros* 1.704: *conponere, unde et structores dicuntur ferculorum compositores*) and Saint Augustine also applies it in its classical sense: *ipso poetae talium fabularum compositores*. So too does Gregory the Great (*Fingere namque componere dicimus; unde et compositores luti figulos uocamus*), whose explanation of *compositores* was taken over word for word by the Carolingian commentaries on the grammar of Donatus, the *Ars Laureshamensis*, Murethach and Sedulius Scottus, as well as Hrabanus Maurus. Hincmar of Reims, on the other hand, uses the word in the Ciceronian sense: *potius compilatores quam compositores existerent*.¹⁹⁷

Without the bishops, *nec constituuntur reges*: the tradition is Carolingian but the wording is clearly classical, resembling the vocabulary of Caesar (*De bello Gallico* 4.21.7 and 5.54.2), Cicero (*De lege agraria* 2.6.15 and 2.11.29, *De re publica* 2.18.33, and *Pro Sestio* 27.58) and Pliny (*Naturalis historia* 37.147). The expression is transmitted through patristic and Carolingian authors such as Cassiodorus (*Sed et reges terrarum constituuntur a Domino*) and Hincmar of Reims (*Et multi ciuium uel militum fulti auxilio reges constituuntur uel deiiciuntur de principatu*), and the author of the *Admonitions* repeats it elsewhere too.¹⁹⁸ The parallels of the expression *falsis criminationibus fedat* always appear in a similar context: Cicero, *De oratore* 2.79.321: *contra falsam criminationem*; Saint Augustine: *uanis erroribus et falsis criminationibus aduersus catholicam ecclesiam credentes*; Boethius: *An tu quoque mecum rea falsis criminationibus agiteris?*; Cassiodorus: *proditionis patriae falsis criminationibus accusatum*; Hrabanus Maurus: *uel falsis criminationibus mentem non patefacent*.¹⁹⁹ The warning *agere prohibeo* has a clearly legal background: it often figures in Justinian's

¹⁹⁶ Novatianus, "De Trinitate," *CCSL* 4, 71; Arnobius, "Adversus nationes libri VII," *CSEL* 4, 175; "Sacramentarium Gelasianum," *PL* 74, 1133.

¹⁹⁷ Saint Augustine, "De ciuitate Dei," *CCSL* 47, 45; Gregory the Great, "Homiliae in evangelia," *PL* 76, 1182; "Ars Laureshamensis: Expositio in Donatum maiorem," *CCCM* 40A, 46; Murethach, "In Donati artem maiorem," *CCCM* 40, 92; Sedulius Scottus, "In Donati artem maiorem," *CCCM* 40B, 69; Hrabanus Maurus, "Commentaria in libros Paralipomenon," *PL* 109, 307; Hincmar of Reims, "De praedestinatione Dei et libero arbitrio posterior dissertatio," *PL* 125, 99.

¹⁹⁸ Cassiodorus, "Expositio Psalmorum," *CCSL* 97, 45; Hincmar of Reims, "De divortio Lotharii regis et Theutbergae reginae," *MGH: Concilia* 4.1, 248; *SRH* 2, 625: *Consilio quidem constituuntur reges...*

¹⁹⁹ Saint Augustine, "De baptismo," *CSEL* 51, 267; Boethius, "Philosophiae consolatio," *CCSL* 94, 5; Cassiodorus, "Variarum libri XII," *CCSL* 96, 19; Hrabanus Maurus, "Commentaria in Genesim," *PL* 107, 549.

Digesta (3.1.10: *et aduersus fiscum agere non prohibentur*, 22.1.19: *agere non prohibentur*, and 48.19.9: *non prohibetur agere*). The same holds true for the expression *culpa reprehensione digna*, all the more so because its Ciceronian usage (*Philippicae* 12.10.25: *culpae reprehensionem*, and *Pro Ligario* 1.2: *Ligari ullam culpam reprehendatis*, quoted by Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria* 8.5.13) also appears in patristic authors such as Cassianus (*culpa tamen ac reprehensione carere non possunt*) and Gregory the Great (*culpam reprehensionis*).²⁰⁰ The conjunction *de quibus sermo est* is just as much Ciceronian (*De finibus* 3.12.40: *rebus iis, de quibus hic sermo est*, and *Lucullus* 18.57: *de quo omnis hic sermo est*) as it is patristic and Carolingian: the same expression is also used by Bede the Venerable, Hrabanus Maurus and John Scottus Eriugena.²⁰¹

Chapter Three also shows the combination of Biblical and classical Latinity: a direct quotation from Psalms 104.15 (*nolite tangere christos meos*) is not much later followed by a phrase (*si tu ordinem seruabis*) which has its parallels in the military vocabulary of Caesar (*De bello Gallico* 4.26.1 and 7.23.5, and *De bello ciuili* 1.44.1, 1.44.3 and 2.41.6) and Livy (*Ab urbe condita* 3.60.9, 8.34.10, 9.19.8, 24.48.11, 30.35.6 and 37.23.9), as well as in Cicero (*De inuentione* 1.34.59: *ordinem seruant*) and later in Macrobius (*Saturnalia* 5.15.4: *Contra Vergilius nullum in commemorandis regionibus ordinem seruat*) and Martianus Capella (*De nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii* 9.972: *quae ratione certa ordinem seruant*). This classical expression had a very strong resonance with numerous patristic, Carolingian and medieval authors, such as Saint Ambrose (*recte naturae ordinem seruas*), Saint Augustine (*suasque uices atque ordinem seruant*), Cassiodorus (*ueritatis ordinem seruat*), Gregory the Great (*ut quia conditionis nostrae ordinem seruare noluius*), Bede the Venerable (*qui uidelicet iustum statutumque a Deo humanae conditionis ordinem seruant*), Alcuin (*praecursionis suae ordinem seruans*, quoted by Smaragdus of Saint Mihiel and Hrabanus Maurus), Remigius of Auxerre (*quae ratione certa ordinem seruant*), and the commentaries on the grammar of Donatus (*Ars Ambrosiana: In his Donatus naturalem rerum ordinem seruat*, and Smaragdus of Saint Mihiel: *et subiunctuum ordinem seruant*), as well as Gerbert of Aurillac (*Si corpus in corpore ordinem seruat*) and Odilo of Cluny (*Nam quidquid ordinem seruat iustitiae*).²⁰²

²⁰⁰ Cassianus, “Conlationes,” *CSEL* 13, 324; Gregory the Great, “Registrum epistularum,” *CCSL* 140A, 835.

²⁰¹ Bede the Venerable, “Explanatio Apocalypseos,” *CCSL* 121A, 363; Hrabanus Maurus, “Commentaria in libros Regum,” *PL* 109, 243; John Scottus Eriugena, “Versio operum sancti Dionysii Areopagitae: De caelesti hierarchia,” *PL* 122, 1059.

²⁰² Saint Ambrose, “De Iacob et vita beata,” *CSEL* 32.2, 61; Saint Augustine, “De Genesi ad litteram imperfectus liber,” *CSEL* 28.1, 487; Cassiodorus, “Expositio Psalmorum,” *CCSL* 98, 1101; Gregory the Great, “Moralia in Iob,” *CCSL* 143, 11; Bede the Venerable, “Super parabolam Salomonis allegorica expositio,” *PL* 91, 1020; Alcuin, “Commentaria in sancti Joannis evangelium,” *PL* 100, 754; Smaragdus of Saint Mihiel, “Collectiones epistolarum et evangeliorum,” *PL* 102, 525; Hrabanus Maurus, “Commentaria in

The historical context of early eleventh-century Hungary can also contribute to the interpretation of the image of the bishops in the *Admonitions*. Caught between Pope Sylvester II and Emperor Otto III, but preferring papal supremacy to the imperial one, King Stephen started to establish the Hungarian diocesan system independent from imperial influence. It required legislation; the second chapter of the first law code of King Stephen on the powers of the bishops over church goods and their accord with laymen decreed the following: *Volumus, ut episcopi habeant potestatem res ecclesiasticas preuidere, regere et gubernare atque dispensare secundum canonicam auctoritatem. Volumus, ut et laici in eorum ministerio obedient episcopis ad regendas ecclesias, uiduas et orphantos defensandos et ut obedientes sint ad eorum christianitatem seruandam.*²⁰³ Under the circumstances of consolidating the freshly converted country against powerful attempts at pagan restoration, the creation of local bishoprics followed Western models, and the author of the *Admonitions* also relied on the Western tradition—a tradition complex and controversial in itself. While Carolingian ecclesiology maintained the bishops' right of resistance, political practice ensured royal authority over the prelates. Examining the *Admonitions* in the light of the contrast between theory and practice in Carolingian politics, József Deér faced the problem of pondering the significance of both, but finally suggested a third solution: the *Admonitions* was influenced by the Cluniac reform. Arguing for the royal authority over the bishops in Carolingian practice, on the other hand, Deér refers to the episcopal oath of 877 as reported in the Annals of Saint Bertin by Hincmar of Reims: *secundum meum scire et posse et meum ministerium et auxilio et consilio fidelis et adiutor ero, sicut episcopus recte seniori suo debitor est, in mea fide et meo sacerdotio.*²⁰⁴ Furthermore, the Ottonian model of the *rex canonicus*, that is, the king as a canon involved in ecclesiastical affairs as a colleague of the bishop, would also explain the division of sacred and profane functions between the bishops and the king in the *Admonitions*. This is how the king and the bishops share each other's mixed functions: the bishops are competent in secular affairs through their political power, and the king is competent in ecclesiastical affairs through his spiritual power. Since this theory worked in the practice of the political and even military 'friendships' of kings and bishops in the tenth century, it would seem likely to work in the eleventh century also. The author anticipated its fea-

Matthaeum," *PL* 107, 772; Remigius of Auxerre, "De musica," *PL* 131, 951; "Ars Ambrosiana: Commentum anonymum in Donati partes maiores," *CCSL* 133C, 39; Smaragdus of Saint Mihiel, "Liber in partibus Donati," *CCCM* 68, 215; Gerbert of Aurillac, "De corpore et sanguine domini," *PL* 139, 188; Odilo of Cluny, "Sermones," *PL* 142, 1018. See also 1 Chronicles 16.22.

²⁰³ János M. Bak, György Bónis, and James Ross Sweeney, ed., *The Laws of the Medieval Kingdom of Hungary*, vol. 1, 1000–1301 (Idyllwild, CA: Schlacks, 1999), 3. See also Kristó (1998b: 55–66); Thoroczkay (2001: 49–68).

²⁰⁴ Hincmar of Reims, "Annales Bertiniani," *MGH: Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum* 5, 139; Deér (1933: 442–3). See also Morrison (1964: 215–38); Nelson (1999: XVII.16–34).

sibility in Hungary and provided the imaginary bishops of the *Admonitions* with royal support and exemption from human law. This attitude is similar to that of the royal *promissio* of Mainz by Emperor Henry II in 1002: *ecclesiam dei et sacerdotes Christi sublimare et exaltare uigilantissima deuocione pro scire ac posse studebimus*.²⁰⁵

Another important feature of King Stephen's *Admonitions* is the organic perception of political authority. Originating in ancient political ideas, this theory treats the components of state and society as parts of the body of a living creature. The author speaks of *caput* and *oculi* as parts (*membra*) of the whole body, which consists of the *fides catholica*, *status ecclesiasticus*, *pontifices*, *principes*, *milites*, *hospites* and, last but not least, the *consilium*. Primarily, this medieval organic concept in the *Admonitions* is based on Saint Paul, in Romans 12.4–5: *Sicut enim in uno corpore multa membra habemus, omnia autem membra non eundem actum habent, ita multi unum corpus sumus in Christo, singuli autem alter alterius membra*. The allegory of the apostle appears elsewhere too – 1 Corinthians 12.12: *Sicut enim corpus unum est et membra habet multa, omnia autem membra corporis, cum sint multa, unum corpus sunt, ita et Christus...* It became connected to the eucharistic concept of the *corpus mysticum* and also to the *corpus ecclesiae* even in the patristic authors who elaborated on the relevant Pauline passages, most importantly Saint Ambrose (*Omnes unum corpus Christi sumus, cui caput Deus, membra autem nos sumus, alii fortasse oculi ut prophetae, dentes ut apostoli qui euangelicae praedicationis cibum nostris infudere pectoribus... sunt et manus eius illi qui uidetur bonorum executores operum, sunt et uenter eius qui uires alimoniae pauperibus largiuntur, sunt ergo et pedes eius aliqui, atque utinam merear eius esse calcaneum!*) and Saint Augustine (*totum hoc unum corpus Christi: singuli autem membra Christi. Si ergo omnes corpus, singuli membra; est utique caput cuius hoc sit corpus*). This patristic concept gradually developed into the Carolingian formulations of the corporate idea of the body politic, as is emphasized already in the first chapter in the *De institutione regia* of Jonas of Orléans: *Sciendum omnibus fidelibus est quia uniuersalis ecclesia corpus est Christi et eius caput idem est Christus, et in ea duae principaliter exstant eximiae personae, sacerdotalis uidelicet et regalis, tantoque est praestantior sacerdotalis, quanto pro ipsis regibus Deo est rationem redditura*.²⁰⁶

In the *Admonitions*, likewise, the organic concept of the mystical body of Christ, the Eucharist and the Church is transformed into political categories. This transformation commonly relied upon the Pauline metaphor, but one should also consider the

²⁰⁵ Schneider (1972: 93). See also Fleckenstein (1964: 57–71); Auer (1971: 316–407); Konstan (1994–1995: 1–16); Bührer-Thierry (1997: 143–7); Althoff (1999: 91–105); Nemerkényi (2001c: 79–86).

²⁰⁶ Saint Ambrose, “Epistulae extra collectionem,” CSEL 82.3, 152; Saint Augustine, “Sermones,” PL 39, 1500; Jonas of Orléans, “Opusculum de institutione regia ad Pippinum regem,” PL 106, 285. See also Chroust (1947: 423–52); Lubac (1949: 94–104); Wemple (1974: 222–37); Struve (1978: 10–43); Fried (2000: 42–9); Iogna-Prat (2001: 49–69).

secondary influence of the ancient Greek and Roman metaphors of the body. As the celebrated monograph by Georges Duby on the medieval theory of the three orders has shown, the metaphor of the body was by no means the only way of representing state and society.²⁰⁷ Whereas the theory of the three orders was limited both geographically and chronologically, the organic perception had already appeared in classical Greek literature. Aesop's 159th fable recounts the story of the stomach and the legs: they cannot stand each other, but they cannot live without each other either, since the stomach feeds the legs and the legs carry the stomach; consequently there must always be a compromise between them. In Xenophon's *Memorabilia* 2.3, Socrates explains in a longer talk that brothers should live in harmony, just as the double organs, such as eyes, hands and legs, do: better to complement than to hinder one another. In Plato's *Phaedrus* 264c, Socrates declares that a perfect speech is similar to a living creature: none of its parts can be missing, for otherwise it would be like a person with disabilities. Aristotle in the *Politics* 1302b compares the citizens of the Greek *polis* to the parts of the body: they should be proportional, otherwise a deformed body and a deformed political establishment evolves.²⁰⁸

In classical Latin literature, Cicero already exploited the metaphor of the body for the description of the Roman state (*Philippicae* 8.5.15) but the most influential staging of the organic perception is the speech of Menenius Agrippa on behalf of the Roman aristocracy in order to put an end to the *secessio* of the *plebs* on the *Mons sacer* in 494 BC. Menenius Agrippa's speech is reported in Livy's *Ab urbe condita* 2.32.9–12: *Tempore, quo in homine non, ut nunc, omnia in unum consentientia, sed singulis membris suum cuique consilium, suus sermo fuerit, indignatas reliquas partes sua cura, suo labore ac ministerio uentri omnia quaeri, uentrem in medio quietum nihil aliud quam datis uoluptatibus frui; conspirasse inde, ne manus ad os cibum ferrent, nec os acciperet datum, nec dentes conficerent. Hac ira dum uentrem fame domare uellent, ipsa una membra totumque corpus ad extremam tabem uenisse. Inde apparuisse uentris quoque haud segne ministerium esse, nec magis ali quam alere eum, redditem in omnis corporis partes hunc, quo uiuimus uigemusque, diuisum pariter in uenas, matrum confecto cibo sanguinem. Comparando hinc, quam intestina corporis seditio similis esset irae plebis in patres, flexisse mentes hominum.* Finally, the stomach regained its former rights: Menenius Agrippa managed to persuade the *plebs* to return to Rome. The most popular version of the story appears in Livy, but earlier Cicero attributed the speech to the dictator Marcus Valerius in *Brutus* 14.54: *M. Valerium dictatorem dicendo sedauisse discordias.* Quintilian, on the other hand, also attributes this rhetorical masterpiece to Menenius Agrippa in his *Institutio oratoria* 5.11.19: *si quidem et Menenius Agrippa plebem cum patribus in gratiam traditur reduxisse nota illa de mem-*

²⁰⁷ Duby (1980).

²⁰⁸ See Barner (1889).

bris humanis aduersus uentrem discordantibus fabula... Other variants of the story survive in Dionysius of Halicarnassus (*Antiquitates Romanae* 6.83–6) and Cassius Dio (whose work is excerpted in the twelfth-century Byzantine chronicler Zonaras' *Epitome historiorum* 7.14). On the basis of Isidore of Seville's *Etymologiae* 1.40.1, it has been argued that the principal source of the speech by Menenius Agrippa was a fable of Alcmeon of Croton around 500 BC and that this version was adapted by Dionysius of Halicarnassus as well. Scholars of ancient rhetoric, however, maintain that the most important sources of the speeches in Livy's work were the annalistic historians and the oral tradition.²⁰⁹

The story is retold in the twelfth century by the erudite classicist John of Salisbury in his *Policraticus*: *Accidit ut aduersus stomachum membra omnia totius corporis conspirarent, tamquam aduersus eum qui uoracitate sua labores omnium exauriret...* *Factumque est ita; suadente ratione repletus est uenter, refocillata membra, et pax omnium reformata. Absolutus est itaque stomachus, qui, licet uorax sit et auidus alieni, non sibi tamen petit sed aliis quae eo exinanito nequeunt sustentari.*²¹⁰ Nonetheless, as has been pointed out recently, there is a broad dichotomy between the cultivated masters of the classical curriculum, such as John of Salisbury, and the average alumni of the schools, such as Thomas Becket—not to mention the anonymous author of the *Admonitions*.²¹¹ Furthermore, direct knowledge of Livy was rare in the Middle Ages. The first decade of his Roman history figures in the mid-eleventh-century library catalog of Cluny (*Volumen in quo continetur prima decada Titi Liuii*), but the author of the *Admonitions* most probably never read Livy's work. What he might have had access to, however, is short portions of it, perhaps the story of Menenius Agrippa, in *florilegia*.²¹² Italian humanists partly recovered Livy's corpus, and Machiavelli provided an exhaustive and strongly topical commentary on the first decade.²¹³ Later the baroque fanatics of Latin rhetoric admired Menenius Agrippa's speech. In his booklet printed in 1684, Georgius Hirsch praises him in the following way: *Ex omnibus uero, quos eruditia nobis antiquitas reliquit, apologos, principem tuere locum uidetur ille Menenii Agrippe de membris humanis aduersus uentrem conspirantibus, quo plebem Romanam, postquam in montem sacrum armata secesserat, in urbem reuocauit feliciter. So feliciter* is this that Hirsch locates Menenius Agrippa in the company of mythical heroes: *Menenius hic tumultuantibus appropinquans, uidebatur sibi uidere non Montem*

²⁰⁹ See Canter (1917–1918: 125–51, 44–64); Nestle (1927: 350–60); Walsh (1961: 77, 86, 92); Ogilvie (1965: 312–3); Kennedy (1972: 24–6); Capizzi (1983: 159–63); Havas (1983: 99–106).

²¹⁰ Clemens C.I. Webb, ed., *Ioannis Saresberiensis episcopi Carnotensis Policratici sive de nugis curialium et vestigiis philosophorum libri VIII*, vol. 2 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1909), 71–2. See also Schrader (1912: 150–1); Martin (1969: 319–21); Nederman (1987: 211–23); Nederman (1988: 3–26); Moos (1988).

²¹¹ See Duggan (2001: 1–22).

²¹² See Wilmart (1921: 115); Reynolds (1983b: 205–14); Büren (1992: 256–67); Büren (1996: 57–73).

²¹³ See Anderson (1958: 232–5).

*Sacrum, sed Titanum aduersus Superos rebellentium et subiectum Pelion Ossae...*²¹⁴

Compared to Livy, Sallust provided more compelling reading material in the Middle Ages, due to the widespread manuscript transmission of his works, and therefore his influence represents a more probable factor in the composition of the *Admonitions*.²¹⁵ Sallust's popularity, along with his frequent comparison to Thucydides, is already attested by ancient Roman authors such as Velleius Paterculus (*Historia Romana* 2.36.2: *aemulumque Thucydidis Sallustium*), Quintilian (*Institutio oratoria* 10.1.101: *At non historia cesserit Graecis. Nec opponere Thucydidii Sallustium uerear*, and 10.2.17: *Attici scilicet; qui praecisis conclusionibus obscuri Sallustium atque Thucydiden superant*), Martial (*Epigrammata* 14.191.2: *primus Romana Crispus in historia*) and Tacitus (*Annales* 3.30.2: *C. Sallustius, rerum Romanarum florentissimus auctor*). Grammarians such as Donatus, Servius and Priscian greatly contributed to his popularity.²¹⁶ Sallust's medieval appreciation, however, was more firmly based on the authority of the patristic authors. Saint Jerome called him *Romanae linguae disertissimus*. Saint Augustine also used this epithet, *uir disertissimus Sallustius*, as well as the expression *Sallustius, nobilitatae ueritatis historicus*. Referring to Cicero's *De re publica*, Augustine recalls his reading of Sallust in the *De ciuitate Dei*: *Quando ergo res publica Romana talis erat, qualem illam describit Sallustius, non iam pessima ac flagitiosissima, sicut ipse ait, sed omnino nulla erat secundum istam rationem, quam disputatio de re publica inter magnos eius tum principes habita patefecit. Sicut etiam ipse Tullius non Scipionis nec cuiusquam alterius, sed suo sermone loquens in principio quinti libri commemorato prius Ennii poetae uersu, quo dixerat: "Moribus antiquis res stat Romana uirisque."*²¹⁷ Early medieval authorities praised Sallust similarly. Isidore of Seville, in *Etymologiae* 13.21.10, called him *Sallustius autem, auctor certissimus*, an epithet taken over by Bede the Venerable: *Sallustius auctor certissimus*.²¹⁸ Richer of Reims, a pupil of Gerbert of Aurillac at the end of the tenth century, quotes the speech of Catiline directly from Sallust's *De coniurazione Catilinae* 58.11 (*nos pro patria pro libertate pro uita certamus*) in the following way: *pro patria, pro uita, pro libertate certandum asserens*. At the beginning of the twelfth century, the anonymous *Vita Heinrici IV. imperatoris* also frequently quoted Sallust.²¹⁹

²¹⁴ Hirsch (1684: 10, 12). See also Peil (1983: 352); Peil (1985: 17–89); Nemerkényi (1998–1999: 81–90).

²¹⁵ See Sandys (1958: 658–9); Reynolds (1983c: 341–9).

²¹⁶ See Höhne (1927: 72–82, 92–7); Zimmermann (1929: 28–30, 34–8, 42–3); Pabón (1933: 78–101).

²¹⁷ Saint Jerome, "Epistulae," CSEL 56, 230; Saint Augustine, "De ciuitate Dei," CCSL 47, 5, 54, 188. See also Grabmann (1936: 1–24); Kurfess (1937: 341–56); Pavan (1960: 637–46); Hagendahl (1966: 509–16); Markus (1983: V.1–21).

²¹⁸ Bede the Venerable, "In primam partem Samuhelis libri IIII," CCSL 119, 278. See also Lehmann (1927: 195).

²¹⁹ Richer of Reims, "Historiae," MGH: Scriptores 38, 66; "Vita Heinrici IV. imperatoris," MGH: Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum 58, passim. See also Latouche (1929: 289–305); Power (1961: 367–9); Schneider (1965); Hoffmann (1998: 482–508).

As regards the topoi of classical historiography, Sallust's key terms of decline include *ambitio*, *uaritia*, *luxuria* and *superbia*, related to the classical Greek notion of *hybris*.²²⁰ The exact opposites of these terms figure in the *Admonitions* at Chapter Ten, *De pietate et misericordia, ceterisque uirtutibus: Sis misericors omnibus uim patientibus...* *Patiens esto ad omnes, non tantum potentes, sed etiam potestate carentes. Sis denique fortis, ne te prosperitas nimis eleuet, aut aduersitas deiciat. Sis quoque humilis, ut deus te altum faciat hic et in futuro. Sis uero modestus, ut ultra modum neminem punias uel dampnes. Sis mitis, ut nunquam iusticie repugnes. Sis honestus, ut nunquam alicui spontaneum inferas dedecus. Sis pudicus, ut cunctos libidinis fetores, sicut stimulum mortis evites.*²²¹ This enumeration of virtues often appears in patristic, Carolingian and medieval authors such as Leo the Great (*Deinde ait Dominus: "Beati mites, quoniam ipsi haereditate possidebunt terram"* (Matthew 5.4). *Mitibus atque mansuetis, humilibus ac modestis, et ad omnium iniuriarum tolerantiam praeparatis, possidenda terra promittitur), Smaragdus of Saint Mihiel (Memoria timoris Domini facit hominem cautum, modestum, iustum, rectum et honestum, pium, benignum, misericordem, prudentem, humilem, mitem, sobrium et in omnibus actionibus temperatum et prouidum. E contrario mentis obliuio facit hominem stultum, incautum, insensatum, fatuum, improuidum, iniustum, iniuriosum, iracundum, inuidum, impurum, immitem, incontinentem, irrisorem, detractorem, inflatum, superbum, elatum, uanum, et in omnibus omnino actionibus depravatum hominem, facit et miserum. Non enim ad memoriam Dominum suum et praecelta eius reducit; et ideo uelut caecus et errans peccat et perit) and Thangmar of Hildesheim (*Mirum nempe in modum uir iste omnibus omnia factus, inter diuites et pauperes, inter elatos et humiles, auctorabili quadam modestia medius incedebat; et utrobique iuste prouidus, nec mitibus intractabilis, nec proteruis despicabilis apparebat*).²²²*

Apart from the pioneering studies of József Balogh, the medieval idea of Rome and the use of Roman antiquity in the *Admonitions* have not been subject to systematic inquiry either. To some extent, the work also exploits the Latin classics to adapt the medieval idea of Rome according to the Carolingian and Ottonian tradition. The rhetorical devices featuring the contemporary idea of Rome appear clearly in several passages of the *Admonitions* of extraordinary importance. For instance, playing with the etymology of the ancient Latin term *augustus* in Chapter Two, On the Reverence for the Clerical Order, is one of these devices. The author refers to this epithet to emphasize the point that it is a royal duty to defend and reinforce the body of the Church: *Ac per hoc fili mi*

²²⁰ See Oppermann (1958: 185–96); Stewart (1968: 298–317); Tiffou (1977: 349–60); Conley (1981: 379–82); Korpaný (1983: 61–71).

²²¹ SRH 2, 627. See Balogh (1927b: 452–61).

²²² Leo the Great, "Tractatus," CCSL 138A, 586; Smaragdus of Saint Mihiel, "Commentaria in regulam sancti Benedicti," PL 102, 809; Thangmar of Hildesheim, "Vita Bernwardi episcopi Hildesheimensis," MGH: Scriptores 4, 781. See also Tietz (1997: 113–32).

florente studio debes inuigilare in sancta ecclesia de die in diem, ut potius augmentum capiat, quam detrimentum patiatur. Unde quidem in primis reges augusti dicebantur, quia augebant ecclesiam. Hoc et tu facias, ut tua corona laudabilior et uita beatior ac prolixior habeatur.²²³ The expression *florente studio* may have its antecedents in Cicero (*Brutus* 95.327: *si illum flagrantem studio et florentem facultate audire potuisses*) and Vergil (*Georgica* 4.563–4: *illo Vergilium me tempore dulcis alebat/ Parthenope studiis florentem ignobilis oti*, quoted in Priscian’s grammar), and at the beginning of the *Philosophiae consolatio* of Boethius (*Carmina qui quondam studio florente peregi*). Later in the eleventh century, Adam of Bremen used the expression *florentissimo studio*.²²⁴ Parallels to the warning *debēs inuigilare* again occur in Cicero (*Philipicæ* 8.10.30: *Omnes id quidem facere debebamus... uigilare, adesse animo*) and Justinian (*Digesta* 1.15.3: *Sciendum est autem praefectum uigilum per totam noctem uigilare debere*), as well as in Saint Augustine (*uigilare debet lectoris intentio*, quoted by Bede the Venerable) and Hincmar of Reims (*debet inuigilare*).²²⁵

The entire phrase *ut potius augmentum capiat, quam detrimentum patiatur* had a lasting career in patristic and medieval Latin: its various forms figure in Saint Ambrose (*neque enim caro uel detrimentum diuinitati adferre potuit uel augmentum*), Saint Augustine (*litigat ille qui aduersarium suum uult detrimentum pati, se augmentum*), Gregory the Great (*nec detrimentum recipit nec augmentum*), Isidore of Seville (*Quod diu in hac uita uiuitur, quaeritur utrum augmentum an rectius detrimentum dicatur. Sed quomodo possit recte dici augmentum quod per dimensiones aetatum ad mortis tenditur detrimentum?*), John Scottus Eriugena (*Mouetur enim per tempora et aetates, augmentum et detrimentum sui patiendo*), Hincmar of Laon (*non ecclesiae infero detrimentum, imo statui eius confero augmentum, quin et reipublicae addo expedibile adminiculum*), Anastasius Bibliothecarius (*Quae enim tradita sunt in catholica ecclesia neque augmentum, neque detrimentum admittunt*), and Odo of Cluny (*Omnis rei principium tendit ad augmentum, dehinc ad detrimentum deuergit*).²²⁶ The second part of the phrase (*quam detrimentum patiatur*) has further parallels in the Bible (Matthew

²²³ *SRH* 2, 622. See Bartoniek (1934: 314–31); Balogh (1938c: 389–98); Uhlirz (1951); Karpat (1961: 225–348).

²²⁴ Priscian, “Institutionum grammaticarum libri XVIII,” *GL* 2, 296, *GL* 3, 192; Boethius, “Philosophiae consolatio,” *CCSL* 94, 1; Adam of Bremen, “Gesta Hammaburgensis ecclesiae pontificum,” *MGH: Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum* 2, 69.

²²⁵ Saint Augustine, “De doctrina Christiana,” *CCSL* 32, 107; Bede the Venerable, “Explanatio Apocalypses,” *CCSL* 121A, 227; Hincmar of Reims, “De divortio Lotharii regis et Theutbergae reginae,” *MGH: Concilia* 4.1, 104.

²²⁶ Saint Ambrose, “Apologia David altera,” *CSEL* 32.2, 377; Saint Augustine, “Sermones,” *PL* 39, 1594; Gregory the Great, “Homiliae in Hiezechielem prophetam,” *CCSL* 142, 363; Isidore of Seville, “Sententiae,” *CCSL* 111, 327; John Scottus Eriugena, “De divisione naturae,” *PL* 122, 802; Hincmar of Laon, “Opuscula et epistolae,” *PL* 124, 981; Anastasius Bibliothecarius, “Interpretatio synodi VII generalis,” *PL* 129, 435; Odo of Cluny, “Collationes,” *PL* 133, 582.

16.26: *animae uero suae detrimentum patiatur*, 1 Corinthians 3.15: *si cuius opus arserit, detrimentum patietur*, and 2 Corinthians 7.9: *ut in nullo detrimentum patiamini ex nobis*) but also in numerous classical Latin authors such as Caesar (*De bello civili* 1.5.3, 1.7.5 and 3.46.4), Cicero (*In Catilinam* 1.2.4 and *Pro Milone* 26.70), Sallust (*De coniurazione Catilinae* 29.2), Livy (*Ab urbe condita* 3.4.9, 6.19.3 and 28.44.10), Seneca (*Epistulae morales ad Lucilium* 71.10), Tacitus (*Annales* 4.19.2) and Macrobius (*Saturnalia* 3.17.4), and also in the legal corpus of Justinian (*Digesta* 11.7.12, 19.2.45, 21.1.23 and 42.8.25). The term also appears later in the fourteenth-century *Legenda maior* of Saint Gerard in Hungary: *ne ordo patris nostri Sancti Benedicti in scientiis liberalibus detrimentum patiatur*.²²⁷

The conjunction of *reges* and *augusti* reveals the author's knowledge of the Roman past through the filter of patristic and early medieval authorities. The relevant statements by Saint Jerome (*sicut apud Romanos "Caesares" et "Augusti" reges eorum appellantur – a primo Gaio "Caesare" et secundo adoptio eius Octauiano, qui postea "Augustus" est nominatus*) and Isidore of Seville (*apud nos Augusti appellantur reges, cum propriis nominibus censeantur*) were both quoted by Hrabanus Maurus; Bede the Venerable also uses the same conjunction in his chronology of the Roman emperors (*Octauianus Caesar Augustus Romanorum secundus regnauit an. LVI et mensibus VI, a quo Augusti appellati reges Romanorum*). Apart from the *Admonitions*, the term *augustus* also appears in an eleventh-century setting in the legends of Saint Stephen of Hungary: in the *Legenda maior* (*sororem Romane dignitatis augusti, uidelicet Heinrici* and *Romane dignitatis augusto Heinrico pio*, both quoted verbatim in Hartvic's legend) and in the *Legenda minor* (*Heinrico Romanorum augusto*).²²⁸

The *Admonitions* elaborates on the etymology of the epithet *augustus*, deriving from the verb *augeo*: *augusti dicebantur, quia augebant ecclesiam*. The same etymology figures in Isidore of Seville's *Etymologiae* (9.3.16: *Augustus ideo apud Romanos nomen imperii est, eo quod olim augerent rempublicam amplificando*), in Bede the Venerable (*Qui uocabulum Augusti perfectissime complebs utpote suos et augescere desiderans et ipse augere sufficiens*, quoted by Smaragdus of Saint Mihiel), in Paul the Deacon's *Historia Romana* (*tunc primum Augustus eo, quod rem publicam auxerit*) and in the poetry of Sedulius Scottus (*Augusto domino centenas perfero grates: / Augeat Augustum dextra beata dei*).²²⁹ The author also alludes to the etymology of the

²²⁷ "Legenda sancti Gerhardi episcopi," *SRH* 2, 483.

²²⁸ Saint Jerome, "Commentariorum in Hiezechilem libri XIV," *CCSL* 75, 403; Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiae* 7.6.43; Hrabanus Maurus, "Commentariorum in Ezechielem libri viginti," *PL* 110, 795; Hrabanus Maurus, "De universo," *PL* 111, 51; Bede the Venerable, "De temporum ratione liber," *CCSL* 123B, 494; "Legenda maior sancti Stephani regis," *SRH* 2, 384, 389; Hartvic, "Legenda sancti Stephani regis," *SRH* 2, 415, 423; "Legenda minor sancti Stephani regis," *SRH* 2, 399. See also Graf (1882: 308–31); Strothmann (2000: 59–72).

²²⁹ Bede the Venerable, "In Lucae evangelium expositio," *CCSL* 120, 45; Smaragdus of Saint Mihiel, "Collectiones epistolarum et evangeliorum," *PL* 102, 23; Paul the Deacon, "Historia Romana," *MGH*:

word *augustus* in Chapter Four, On Honoring Magnates and Warriors (*augmentatores marciarum*). Cassiodorus also applies a similar etymology of *auctor* and *augmentator* (*Hunc prouectus sui auctorem meruit, ut nos augmentatores dignissime reperiret*).²³⁰

Nevertheless, the application of the classical Latin term *augustus* to the ideal king is supplemented in the *Admonitions* with the royal image from the Old Testament. Speaking of the devotion of the kings in the Old Testament, Chapter Nine, On the Observance of Prayer, declares the following: *Hac quidem oratione antiqui utebantur reges, tu quoque hac eadem utere, ut deus cuncta uitia a te afferre dignetur, ut inuictissimus rex a cunctis nomineris*. The *antiqui reges* refers to the Old Testament kings. In terms of the combination of Biblical imagery and the influence of classical Latin, what makes this reference more interesting is that the author's use of the expression *oratione... utebantur* is clearly classical, reflecting the vocabulary of ancient rhetoric: it is already used this way in the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* (4.52.65: *Nonne omnes hac utentur oratione?*), in Cicero (*De legibus* 3.18.40: *nec est umquam longa oratione utendum*, and *Pro Q. Roscio Comoedo* 1.1: *hac oratione utatur*) and in Gellius (*Noctes Atticae* 4.10.8: *longa oratione utebatur*). The same expression also appears in Saint Jerome (*perpetua oratione utendum est*), but naturally a semantic shift accompanies the classical syntax: the classical *oratio* becomes a Christian prayer, and the patristic influence conveys this meaning to the *Admonitions*.²³¹ The superlative participle *inuictissimus* has no Biblical and not many classical Latin parallels, the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* (4.53.66: *haec urbs inuictissima*) and Cicero (*De re publica* 6.9.9: *illius optimi atque inuictissimi uiri memoria*) being among the very few. However, its various forms appear frequently in dedications to royal patrons—for instance later, in the preface to the chronicle of Simon of Kéza: *Inuictissimo et potentissimo domino Ladislao tertio gloriosissimo regi Hungarorum magister Simon de Keza, fidelis clericus eius, ad illum aspirare (sic), cuius pulchritudinem mirantur sol et luna*.²³²

Although the actual history of Rome around the turn of the first millennium shows the picture of political confusion, the image of the ideal Rome, on the basis of ancient Latin sources, had always been fascinating for patristic and medieval authors.²³³ Chapter Six, On the Reception and Fostering of Guests, runs like this: *In hospitibus et aduentitiis uiris tanta inest utilitas, ut digne sexto in loco regalis dignitatis possint haberi. Inde enim primis Romanum creuit imperium, Romanique reges sublimati fuerunt et gloriosi, quod multi nobiles et sapientes ex diuersis illo confluebant partibus. Roma*

Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum 49, 60; Sedulius Scottus, "Carmina," *CCCM* 117, 50. See also Borzsák (1997: 303).

²³⁰ *SRH* 2, 623; Cassiodorus, "Variarum libri XII," *CCSL* 96, 329.

²³¹ *SRH* 2, 627; Saint Jerome, "Dialogus adversus Pelagianos," *CCSL* 80, 33. See Herrmann (1929: 352–76).

²³² Simon of Kéza, "Gesta Hungarorum," *SRH* 1, 141.

²³³ See Blumenthal (1993: 185–96).

*uero usque hodie esset ancilla, nisi Eneades fecissent illam liberam. Sicut enim ex diuersis partibus et prouinciis uenient hospites, ita diuersas linguas et consuetudines, diuersaque documenta et arma secum ducunt, que omnia regna ornant et magnificant aulam et perterritant exterorum arrogantiam. Nam unius lingue uniusque moris regnum inbecille et fragile est. Propterea iubeo te fili mi, ut bona uoluntate illos nutrias, et honeste teneas, ut tecum libentius degant, quam alicubi habitent. Si enim tu destruere, quod ego edificaui, aut dissipare quod congregaui studueris, sine dubio maximum detrimentum tuum patietur regnum. Quod ne fiat, tuum quotidianie auge regnum, ut tua corona ab hominibus habeatur augusta.*²³⁴

This short panorama on the beginnings of the ancient Roman kingdom resembles Sallust's description in his *De coniuratione Catilinae* 6.1–2: *Urbem Romam, sicuti ego accepi, condidere atque habuere initio Troiani, qui Aenea duce profugi sedibus incertis uagabantur, cumque eis Aborigines, genus hominum agreste, sine legibus sine imperio, liberum atque solutum. Hi postquam in una moenia conuenere, dispari genere, dissimili lingua, alii alio more uiuentes, incredibile memoratu est quam facile coauerint: ita breui multitudine dispersa atque uaga concordia ciuitas facta erat.* The stylistic features of this passage of Sallust do not appear in the *Admonitions*, but the content is clearly similar.²³⁵ This parallel is obviously not a quotation, but it helps to define the role of the Latin classics, most eminently that of Sallust, in shaping the so-called *laus Romae* motif in the *Admonitions*. Sallust's text therefore may well have served as an important source of the author's knowledge of the history of ancient Rome. Some historians have argued that this classical parallel was an overinterpretation and the passage was a distant echo of Sallust at best; however, this channel of influence should be acknowledged, since the philological considerations of József Balogh in favor of Sallust's influence have not been satisfactorily and conclusively refuted.²³⁶ Alternative interpretations by distinguished Hungarian classical philologists tended to discover further traces of classical influence on the *Admonitions*, namely those of Florus and some *flosculi* from Horace. However, they also criticized each other's findings as overinterpretations of the classical parallels.²³⁷

However, a closer scrutiny of the occasional classical and patristic antecedents of Chapter Six provides a more detailed insight into the complex ways of classical influence on the *Admonitions*. First of all, the expression *Romanum creuit imperium* has its parallels in the historical work of Livy (*Ab urbe condita* 4.3.13: *creuit imperium Romanum*) and in the *De ciuitate Dei* of Saint Augustine (*Quid enim interest eorum, qui*

²³⁴ *SRH* 2, 624–5.

²³⁵ See Koestler (1932: 9); Hanell (1945: 263–76); Earl (1961: 82–103); Earl (1967: 11–43).

²³⁶ See Balogh (1938a: 263); Balogh (1938b: 326–36); Kardos (1941: 54–5); Guoth (1942: 56); Deér (1942b: 449–50).

²³⁷ See Borzsák (1996: 209); Havas (1997: 181–7); Havas (2001a: 83–103); Havas (2001b: 175–92); Havas (2002b: 5–32); Havas (2004: 2–12). See also Uhrman (2003: 287–9).

*sub Romulo deos coluerunt et olim sunt mortui, quod post eorum mortem Romanum tantum creuit imperium... quod iam Romanum imperium longe lateque crescebat).*²³⁸ The idea of the advantages of a nation of a mixed origin can also be found at the beginning of Livy's *Ab urbe condita* 1.1.9: *Inde foedus ictum inter duces, inter exercitus salutationem factam; Aeneam apud Latinum fuisse in hospitio; ibi Latinum apud penates deos domesticum publico adiunxisse foedus filia Aeneae in matrimonium data.* Both Sallust and Livy refer to Aeneas in their descriptions of the beginnings of ancient Rome, but the most influential element in the tradition connecting Aeneas to the early history of Rome was probably Vergil's *Aeneis*, where the Trojan origin, that is, the mixture of Trojans and Latins, serves as the starting point of the glorious history of Rome. The character of Aeneas plays a key role in Chapter Six and the passage recalls Vergil's *Aeneis* 12.819–28: *Illud te, nulla fati quod lege tenetur, / pro Latio obtestor, pro maiestate tuorum: / cum iam conubiis pacem felicibus (esto) / component, cum iam leges et foedera iungent, / ne uetus indigenas nomen mutare Latinos/ neu Troas fieri iubeas Teucrosque uocari/ aut uocem mutare uiros aut uertere uestem. / Sit Latium, sint Albani per saecula reges, / sit Romana potens Itala uirtute propago: / occidit, occideritque sinas cum nomine Troia.* In the *Admonitions*, the concept reaches its climax in the following celebrated part of Chapter Six: *Roma uero usque hodie esset ancilla, nisi Eneades fecissent illam liberam... Nam unius lingue uniusque moris regnum inbecille et fragile est.* Through frequent references to this passage, Chapter Six of the *Admonitions* became the starting point of detailed historical studies that stressed the receptive type of 'national policy' in medieval Hungary.²³⁹

A good indicator of the complexity of the classical influence, transmitted through the authority of late antique grammarians as well as patristic and early medieval authors, is the use of the term *Eneades*. This term figures in classical Latin poets such as Lucretius (*De rerum natura* 1.1), Vergil (*Aeneis* 1.157, 1.565, 7.284, 7.334 and 8.648) and Ovid (*Metamorphoses* 15.682 and 15.695, and *Fasti* 1.717). The term is later mentioned and explained from various points of view in the grammatical works of Servius (*In Vergili Aeneidos libros* 1.157: *Aeneadae nunc Troiani, aliquando Romani, and 8.648: Aeneadae satis longe petitum epitheton*) and Priscian (*a paenultima breuis ante "des" inuenitur in patronymico, ut "Pelias Peliades," "Aeneas Aeneades"; "Aeneadum" quoque pro "Aeneadarum" Lucretius in primo uersu; patronymicum Aeneades secundum analogiam*), as well as in the works of Arnobius (*Venerem Aeneadum matrem*) and the poetry of Prudentius (*Iam purpura supplex/ sternitur Aeneadae rectoris ad atria Christi*).²⁴⁰ Isidore of Seville explains the etymology of a similar term

²³⁸ Saint Augustine, "De ciuitate Dei," CCSL 47, 102, 117. See Lind (1972: 235–83).

²³⁹ See Mályusz (1939: 269); Huszti (1942: 345); Fügedi (1975: 471–507); Bak (1988: 556–8); Bak (1993a: 269–70); Kristó (1993–1996: 91–111); Fügedi and Bak (1998: 3–17); Kubinyi (1998: 187–206).

²⁴⁰ Priscian, "Institutionum grammaticarum libri XVIII," GL 2, 65, 292; Priscian, "Partitiones duodecim

(*Etymologiae* 1.7.20: “*Aeneius*” *Aeneae filius*), and Alcuin uses it as a symbol of pagan learning in contrast to Christian revelation (*Utinam euangelia quatuor, non Aeneades duodecim, pectus compleant tuum*). Besides, Alcuin also applies the term in accord with the grammatical tradition: *Haec saepe ab auis fiunt et a conditoribus, ut Iliades, Aeneades and Plena oratio: Virgilius Aeneadas cecinit.* “*Virgilius*” *igitur et “Aeneadas” et “cecinit” haec tria separata aliquid per se significant: “Virgilius” hominem, “Aeneadas” gentem, “cecinit” actum.*²⁴¹ Another branch of the Carolingian grammatical tradition, the commentaries on Donatus (*Ars Laurensensis* and *Sedulius Scottus*) and Pseudo-Hrabanus Maurus’ excerpts quote Priscian’s statement verbatim: *a paenultima breuis ante des inuenitur in patronomico, ut Pelias Peliades, Aeneas Aeneades.* Finally, the term also appears in the Leonine hexameters of the life of Saint Willibrord: *Est sortitus auos Anchysse stemente claros, / Aeneadum flores, maris et terrae domitores.*²⁴²

The expression *unius linguae* has an isolated classical parallel (Seneca, *Controveriae* 9.3.13: *qui non fuerunt contenti unius linguae eloquentia: cum Latine declamauerant, toga posita sumpto pallio quasi persona mutata rediebant et Graece declamaabant*) but occurs several times in Saint Augustine (*Nouerant enim homines idiotas fuisse, unius tantum linguae; et mirabantur ac stupebant, quod unius linguae homines, uel ut multum duarum, linguis omnium gentium loquerentur*), Isidore of Seville (*Etymologiae* 9.1.3: *Unde et propter obscuritatem sanctorum Scripturarum harum trium linguarum cognitio necessaria est, ut ad alteram recurratur dum siquam dubitationem nominis uel interpretationis sermo unius linguae adulterit*, quoted by Hrabanus Maurus) and Remigius of Auxerre (*ut cum modo sint unius linguae, fiant multarum*).²⁴³ The combination of the adjectives *inbecille* et *fragile* in the same sentence have their classical antecedents in Cicero (*Tusculanae disputationes* 5.1.3: *humani generis imbecillitatem fragilitatemque extimescere*) and patristic ones in Lactantius (*hominem nimis inbecillum et fragilem nasci*), Saint Jerome (*quotienscumque humana fragilitas suae relinquitur imbecillitati*), Boethius (*imbecillitas... fragilitas*), Cassiodorus (*imbecilles fragilesque*) and Isidore of Seville (*imbecille et fragilem fidem animae*, quoted again by Hrabanus Maurus). The expression *regnum inbecille*, on the other hand, also appears in Saint Jerome (*diuisum enim in quattuor partes regnum imbecillus fuit*).²⁴⁴ The

versum Aeneidos principalium,” *GL* 3, 482; Arnobius, “Adversus nationes libri VII,” *CSEL* 4, 163–4; Prudentius, “Carmina,” *CCSL* 126, 92.

²⁴¹ Alcuin, “Epistolae,” *PL* 100, 442; Alcuin, “Grammatica,” *PL* 101, 860; Alcuin, “De dialectica,” *PL* 101, 974.

²⁴² “*Ars Laurensensis: Expositio in Donatum maiorem*,” *CCCM* 40A, 18; *Sedulius Scottus*, “*In Donati artem maiorem*,” *CCCM* 40B, 87; Pseudo-Hrabanus Maurus, “*Excerptio de arte grammatica Prisciani*,” *PL* 111, 631; “*Vita s. Willibrordi metrica*,” *AASS Novembris* 3, 485.

²⁴³ Saint Augustine, “*Sermones*,” *PL* 38, 946; Hrabanus Maurus, “*De universo*,” *PL* 111, 435; Remigius of Auxerre, “*Enarrationes in Psalmos*,” *PL* 131, 416.

²⁴⁴ Lactantius, “*De opificio Dei*,” *SC* 213, 116; Saint Jerome, “*Commentariorum in Danielem libri III*,”

advice *auge regnum* consists of words that often complement one another in Livy (*Ab urbe condita* 1.35.6: *augendae rei publicae*, 2.6.2: *augentem bello Romanum imperium*, 31.11.12: *ad firmandum augendumque regnum*, 38.48.4: *regna augetis*, and 39.28.10: *et amplificare et augere regnum meum*) and Tacitus (*Annales* 12.29.3 and *Historiae* 5.9.2). Similar constructions appear in Saint Augustine (*sibi datum et auctum regnum*) and in Wipo in the eleventh century (*magis augere quam minuere regnum intentus*).²⁴⁵

Other terms of Roman antiquity also figure in the *Admonitions*, such as *tribunal* and *senator*. Chapter Seven, On the Importance of the Council, declares the following: *In tribunalibus regum consilium sibi septimum locum uendicat*. The expression *locum uendicat* appears in Propertius (*Elegiae* 3.9.12: *Parrhasius parua uindicat arte locum*), the elder Seneca (*Controversiae* 10.5.28: *locum sibi uindicat*), the younger Seneca (*Epistulae morales ad Lucilium* 88.24: *sic et haec quoque liberalium artium turba locum sibi in philosophia uindicat*) and Quintilian (*Institutio oratoria* 10.1.89: *uindicaret sibi iure secundum locum*, and 10.1.121: *magnum sibi uindicat locum*). This classical expression is taken over by Saint Ambrose (*sed ille qui locum sibi in homine uindicauit*) and Murethach's commentaries on Donatus (*Verbum ob hoc sibi tertium uindicat locum...* *Participium autem merito sibi quintum locum uindicat*; *Latinus ablatius dicitur casus, quia a Latinis est inuentus; sextus appellatur, quia sextum sibi uindicat locum; proprium sibi locum uindicat*).²⁴⁶ The same chapter of the *Admonitions* calls the royal counselors *senatores*: *Idcirco fili mi cum iuuenibus et minus sapientibus noli consiliari, aut de illis consilium querere, sed a senatoribus, quibus illud negotium propter etatem et sapientiam sit aptum...* *Ac per hoc quicquid negotii unicuique conueniat etati, in hoc se exerceat, scilicet iuuenes in armis, senatores in consiliis*. The classical Latin antecedents of this formulation include Cicero (*Tusculanae disputationes* 1.18.42: *bene enim illo Graecorum proverbio praecipitur: "quam quisque norit artem, in hac se exerceat"*, *In Verrem* 2.1.2.4: *rem publicam senatorio consilio maxime posse defendi*, and *In Verrem* 2.1.5.13: *consilia senatoria*), Livy (*Ab urbe condita* 32.30.6: *ut satis comperit non ex auctoritate seniorum iuuentutem in armis esse nec publico consilio*), Florus (*Epitoma* 1.1.15: *iuuentus diuisa per tribus in equis et in armis ad subita belli excubaret, consilium rei p. penes senes esset, qui ex auctoritate patres, ob aetatem senatus uocabantur*) and Ovid (*Fasti* 5.59–64: *Martis opus iuuenes animosaque*

CCSL 75A, 900; Saint Jerome, "Commentarii in prophetas minores," CCSL 76A, 777; Boethius, "Philosophiae consolatio," CCSL 94, 67; Cassiodorus, "Variarum libri XII," CCSL 96, 278; Isidore of Seville, "Quaestiones in vetus testamentum," *PL* 83, 328; Hrabanus Maurus, "Expositiones in Leviticum," *PL* 108, 387. See Balogh (1944: 46–54); Gerics (2001: 111–8); Kosztolnyik (2002: 166).

²⁴⁵ Saint Augustine, "De consensu evangelistarum," *CSEL* 43, 17; Wipo, "Gesta Chuonradi II. imperatoris," *MGH: Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum* 61, 31.

²⁴⁶ *SRH* 2, 625; Saint Ambrose, "Expositio Psalmi CXVIII," *CSEL* 62, 244; Murethach, "In Donati artem maiorem," *CCCM* 40, 51, 100, 229.

bella gerebant,/ et pro dis aderant in statione suis;/ uiribus illa minor nec habendis utilis armis/ consilio patriae saepe ferebat opem;/ nec nisi post annos patuit tunc curia seros,/ nomen et aetatis mite senatus habet). More importantly, the *Proverbia Graecorum*, a collection surviving among the works of Sedulius Scottus, contains statements that are strikingly similar to this formulation in the *Admonitions*: *Prudens prudentes in consilium uocat et sine eorum consilio nihil facit, stultus uero in semet ipso cogitat et, quod sine consilio aliorum cito uult, facit... Rex pacificus laeta facie bona diuidit et uniuscuiusque causam diligenter meditatur, et infirmos et pauperes populi non despiciens cum seniorum iudicio et consilio uerax iudicia loquitur...*²⁴⁷

One of the most important manifestations of the medieval idea of Rome in the *Admonitions* appears in Chapter Eight, On Sons Following their Elders. It reflects the ancient Roman topos of the *mos maiorum*: *Executio maiorum in regali dignitate octauum possidet locum. Regale ornamentum scio esse maximum antecessores sequi reges et honestos imitari parentes. Qui enim antecessorum decreta spernit patrum, nec diuinis procurat leges. Patres enim idcirco sunt patres, ut nutriant filios, ideoque filii sunt, ut obedient parentibus. Qui patri sui resistit, inimicus dei consistit. Omnes enim inobedientes deo sunt resistentes. Spiritus autem inobedientie dispergit flores corone. Inobedientia enim totius est regni pestilentia. Propterea fili karissime, edicta patris tui, scilicet mei semper tibi sint promptuosa, ut prosperitas tua ubique regalibus dirigatur habenis. Mores quidem meos, quos regali uides conuenire dignitati, sine uinculo totius ambiguitatis sequere. Graue enim est huius klimatis tenere regnum, nisi imitator consuetudinis ante regnantium extiteris regum. Quis Grecus regeret Latinos Grecis moribus, aut quis Latinus regeret Grecos Latinis moribus? Nullus. Idcirco consuetudines sequere meas, ut inter tuos habearis precipuus et inter alienos laudabilis.*²⁴⁸

One of the ancient parallels of the adaptation of this topos is Caesar's speech delivered in the Roman senate in Sallust's *De coniuratione Catilinae* 51.37–8: *Maiores nostri, patres conscripti, neque consili neque audaciae umquam egere; neque illis superbia obstabat, quo minus aliena instituta, si modo proba erant, imitarentur. Arma atque tela militaria ab Samnitibus, insignia magistratum ab Tuscis pleraque sumperunt; postremo quod ubique apud socios aut hostis idoneum uidebatur, cum summo studio domi exsequebantur: imitari quam inuidere bonis malebant.* The term *maiores* plays an important role in Roman authors, and it seems feasible that one of the most important origins of its medieval use was Sallust.²⁴⁹

The expression *honestos... parentes* is a strongly classical and therefore established Latin term. It appears in Seneca (*Controversiae* 7.6.1: *Pater noster honestis parentibus natus*), Quintilian (*Institutio oratoria* 11.1.85: *homines honestis parentibus ac maiori-*

²⁴⁷ *SRH* 2, 625; Hellmann (1906: 123–4).

²⁴⁸ *SRH* 2, 626.

²⁴⁹ See Bennett (1970: 146); Blösel (2000: 25–97). See also Érszegi (1995: 161–8).

bus natos) and Servius (*In Vergili Aeneidos libros* 9.298: *ut filii imitentur in omnibus rebus suos parentes*), as well as in Saint Jerome (*honestis parentibus*).²⁵⁰ The term *decreta... patrum* is also strictly established, and *patres* often stands for the Roman senators. It has its parallels in Livy (*Ab urbe condita* 30.2.6, 33.37.9, 37.58.4, 38.51.4 and 39.42.2), Tacitus (*Annales* 1.10.2, 2.43.1 and 3.51.2) and Suetonius (*Diuus Iulius* 16.1, *Diuus Augustus* 44.1, *Tiberius* 71.1 and *Diuus Claudius* 25.1), and also in the legal corpus of Justinian (*Digesta* 50.1.17). This classical term survives in the works of patristic and early medieval authors with a different meaning; there *patres* mostly denotes the Church Fathers: Saint Ambrose (*decreta patrum*), Sedulius Scottus (*rex est iure sacer qui sacra dogmata/ et decreta patrum seruat in omnibus*), Hincmar of Reims (*scripturarum auctoritates et patrum decreta*) and Ratherius of Verona (*sanctorum decreta patrum*).²⁵¹ The expression *imitator consuetudinis* resembles Cicero's Latin (*De officiis* 1.24.83: *consuetudo imitanda*, *Orator* 23.76: *consuetudinem imitans*, and *De re publica* 2.20.35: *huius populi consuetudinem uideretur imitatus*) but it also appears in Priscian (*Hanc tamen consuetudinem Latini habuerunt Aeoles imitantes*), as well as in Saint Jerome (*imitatur consuetudinem prophetarum*) and Bede the Venerable (*Quem legalium morem sacrorum etiam nunc ecclesiae consuetudo non ignobiliter imitatur*, quoted by Hrabanus Maurus).²⁵² Similarly, the term *inter alienos* has its parallels in Ciceronian (*De oratore* 3.6.23), patristic (Saint Ambrose) and Carolingian Latin (Alcuin, Hrabanus Maurus).²⁵³

The formula *Grecis moribus* has an exceptionally rich history in both classical and patristic Latin. It figures in various forms in such classical authors as Cicero (*De oratore* 2.84.341, *Tusculanae disputationes* 1.4.7 and *In Verrem* 2.1.26.66), Livy (*Ab urbe condita* 10.47.3), Petronius (*Satyrica* 111.2), Suetonius (*Nero* 12.3), Servius (*In Vergili Aeneidos libros* 2.247, 3.691, 11.213 and 12.170), Macrobius (*Saturnalia* 5.18.4), Martianus Capella (*De nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii* 3.292) and Priscian.²⁵⁴ It also appears in patristic authors such as Saint Ambrose, Saint Jerome and Saint Augustine (*Cum uero iniustus est rex, quem tyrannum more Graeco appellauit*), as well as Bede the Venerable.²⁵⁵

²⁵⁰ Saint Jerome, “Adversus Jovinianum,” *PL* 23, 276.

²⁵¹ Saint Ambrose, “Exameron,” *CSEL* 32.1, 182; Hellmann (1906: 53); Hincmar of Reims, “De divortio Lotharii regis et Theutberga reginae,” *MGH: Concilia* 4.1, 131; Ratherius of Verona, “Praeloquia,” *CCCM* 46A, 107.

²⁵² Priscian, “Partitiones duodecim versuum Aeneidos principalium,” *GL* 3, 467; Saint Jerome, “Commentariorum in Esaiam libri,” *CCSL* 73, 430; Bede the Venerable, “De temporum ratione liber,” *CCSL* 123B, 455; Hrabanus Maurus, “De computo,” *CCCM* 44, 314.

²⁵³ Saint Ambrose, “De officiis,” *CCSL* 15, 43; Alcuin, “Dialogus de rhetorica et virtutibus,” *PL* 101, 943; Hrabanus Maurus, “Commentarii in Ecclesiasticum,” *PL* 109, 980.

²⁵⁴ Priscian, “Institutionum grammaticarum libri XVIII,” *GL* 2, 239, 290.

²⁵⁵ Saint Ambrose, “Epistulae,” *CSEL* 82.1, 113; Saint Jerome, “Epistulae,” *CSEL* 55, 92; Saint Augustine, “De ciuitate Dei,” *CCSL* 47, 54; Bede the Venerable, “De temporum ratione liber,” *CCSL* 123B, 330. See

The passage (*Quis Grecus regeret Latinos Grecis moribus, aut quis Latinus regeret Grecos Latinis moribus? Nullus*) can be interpreted in two contexts. First, in the framework of the ancient Roman concepts of *gens*, *pupulus* and *natio*.²⁵⁶ Second, in the light of the recent developments around the turn of the first millennium. Following the marriage of Emperor Otto II and the Byzantine Princess Theophano in 972, the heritage of *Graeci* and *Latini* was often highlighted in the sources. Otto II, for instance, called Rome *maxima Romulea urbe* in a charter issued in favor of his wife: *Unde et ego Otto superno numine imperator augustus, domino gratissima sua mihi suffragente clementia, consultu magni et sanctissimi genitoris nostri Ottonis piissimi imperatoris augusti deique et sancte aecclesie imperii quoque nostri fidelium, Theophanu, Iohannis Constantinopolitani imperatoris neptim clarissimam, in maxima Romulea urbe, sancto summoque principe beato Petro apostolo uotis nostris fauente domnique Iohannis sanctissimi et uniuersalis papae tertii decimi benedictione prosequente, in copulam legitimi matrimonii consortiumque imperii despondere ac fausto et felici auspicio Christo propitiante coniugem decreui assumere*.²⁵⁷ In 984, referring to the origin of Otto III, son of Otto II and Theophano, Gerbert of Aurillac asked the following in a letter composed in the name of Adalbero of Reims to Egbert of Trier: *Forte quia Grecus est, ut dicitis, more Grecorum conregnantem instituere uultis?* The question in the *Admonitions* (*Quis Grecus regeret Latinos Grecis moribus*) is a striking echo of Gerbert's question regarding Greek ways of rulership. The term 'Greek' means Byzantine in this context, as it does presumably in the *Admonitions* as well.²⁵⁸

The terms 'Greek' and 'Latin', 'Byzantine' and 'Roman', however, were not necessarily dichotomous antitheses in the period. At the marriage of Otto II and Theophano, the *pantokrator* table of the *Capella sancta sanctorum* of Lateran displayed the following poem: *Dat scola Greca melos et plebs Romana susurros, / Et uariis modulis dat scola Greca melos. / Kyrie centuplicant et pugnis pectora pulsant/ Christe faueto! tonant, Kyrie centuplicant.* The so-called *Versus Scoti cuiusdam de alphabeto*, surviving in eleventh-century manuscripts, expresses the same idea of a symbolic marriage of Byzantine and Roman culture: *Sumpsit ab artigraphis Augusti tempore Graecis/ Me florens studiis Romana peritia claris...*²⁵⁹ Scholars have also detected the traces of this optimistic view in the sarcophagus of King Stephen of Hungary in Székesfehérvár, and suggested that its artistic models were taken from Aachen as well as from Constantino-

also Saint Augustine, "Epistulae," CSEL 44, 352.

²⁵⁶ See Deér (1993–1996: 11–53); Szűcs (1993–1996: 75–90); Tugene (2001: 53–8); Geary (2002: 41–62).

²⁵⁷ Theodor von Sickel, ed., *MGH: Diplomata regum et imperatorum Germaniae*, vol. 2.1, *Ottonis II. diplomata* (Hanover: Hahn, 1888), 28–30. See also McKitterick (1995: XIII.53–74); Irmscher (1997: 207–29).

²⁵⁸ Fritz Weigle, ed., *MGH: Die Briefe der deutschen Kaiserzeit*, vol. 2, *Die Briefsammlung Gerberts von Reims* (Weimar: Böhlau, 1966), 49. See also Balogh (1927a: 9); Bezzola (1956: 65–104); Erkens (1993: 283); Havas (2002a: 49–62); Kapitánffy (2003: 17–37).

²⁵⁹ See Klein (1876: 468); Messerer (1975: 837–64); Hamilton (1979: I.5–26); Berschin (1980: 222–6); Leyser (1995: 1–27).

ple.²⁶⁰ Although these developments are in the background of its composition, the passage in the *Admonitions* does not propose the merging of Greek and Latin customs. On the contrary, it is closer to the pragmatic point of view expressed for instance by Landulf, chronicler of Milan in the eleventh century, who reports on suspicious Greek bishops who visited Milan around 1000: *Quod factum Graeci episcopi, archiepiscopi, sacerdotes perplurium, quod eo in tempore curiae insistebant, mirantes, erga Latinos tantam religionem minime fore credentes, permultum beatum Ambrosium benedicentes dicebant...*²⁶¹ The imperial *Rompolitik* was not so idealistic either, partly because the policy of Otto III looked not only towards Rome but also towards Aachen.²⁶²

The renewal of the ancient theory of a mixed nation, however, led to the acceptance of a ‘virtual’ Roman world power in the Middle Ages. Its most explicit classical manifesto is the description of Rome’s destiny in Vergil’s *Aeneis* 6.847–53: *Excudent alii spirantia mollius aera/ (credo equidem), uiuos ducent de marmore uultus,/ orabunt causas melius, caelique meatus/ describent radio et surgentia sidera dicent:/ tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento/ (hae tibi erunt artes), pacique imponere morem,/ parcere subiectis et debellare superbos.* Saint Augustine reinforced the influence of this Vergilian passage, quoting it extensively in his *De ciuitate Dei*.²⁶³ Since ancient history was usually tailored to the needs of the present, the idea of an imaginary Roman world power did not always interfere with actual politics in the Middle Ages, but the meaning of Vergil’s slogan had perhaps never been as obvious as it seemed in the eyes of late tenth- and early eleventh-century authors. Over the centuries, however, the term *Romanus* had gone through a semantic shift: he was no longer the legionary of the ancient pagan Rome, the *Roma antiqua*, but the citizen of the restored medieval Christian Rome, the *Roma noua*. Nevertheless, influenced by imperial propaganda rather than that of papal Rome, the *Admonitions* presents an ideal image of the pagan *Roma antiqua* without portraying its medieval reincarnation, the *Roma noua* of the vicars of Christ. Surprisingly enough, the Christian Rome has no place in King Saint Stephen’s *Admonitions*.²⁶⁴ This is all the more striking because the idea of the Christian Rome, relying considerably on pagan antecedents, already existed. One of the representatives of its later peak was Peter Damian in the mid-eleventh century: *Urbem Romam uniuersas urbes omni nobilitatis genere praecessisse, et caput orbis fuisse manifestum est. Si*

²⁶⁰ See Deér (1971: 1–56); Bogyay (1972: 9–26); Nagy (1972: 167–84). See also Michałowski (1989: 45–69).

²⁶¹ Landulf, “Mediolanensis historiae libri quatuor,” *RIS* 4.2, 53.

²⁶² See Schneider (1959: 179–203); Falkenstein (1998); Struve (1988: 424–54).

²⁶³ Saint Augustine, “De ciuitate Dei,” *CCSL* 47, 144. See also Johnson (1945: 95–6); Boler (1978: 83–97); Uglione (1982: 15–30); MacCormack (1998: 201–2); D’Elia (2001: 374).

²⁶⁴ See Creizenach (1864: 37); Graf (1883: 196–258); Traube (1891: 3–13); Luttor (1937: 22–41); Cecchetti (1953: 75–91); Comparetti (1955: 203–23); Kantorowicz (1957: 82–3); Gössmann (1974: 39–47); Kosztolnyik (1977: 33–6); Gerics and Ladányi (1996: 9–20).

*enim ante Christi Domini natuitatem consideres, Romanos inuenis rerum dominos; sin post, per B. Petri sedem caput orbis effectum uides; si uiros qui prouenerant in ea, mente reuoluas, consilio cautos, strenuos armis, fortitudine summos, praestantes iustitia, moderatos in rebus omnibus comprobabis. Unum quod ante Christum defuerat, fidei scilicet pietas, per Petrum illata, urbem, quae eatenus in caeteris caeteras superauerat, nobilitauit adeo, ut in hoc etiam caeteras antecedat.*²⁶⁵

In the framework of the concept of *laus Romae*, the idea of the new Rome also implied the theories of the *renouatio imperii Romanorum*, the *translatio imperii* and the *Roma caput mundi* – an expression already appearing in Lucan’s *Bellum ciuile* 2.655–6: *ipsa, caput mundi, bellorum maxima merces, / Roma capi facilis; sed Caesar in omnia praeceps*. One of the most popular antecedents of these theories, on the other hand, can be read again in Sallust’s *De coniuratione Catilinae* 2.6: *Ita imperium semper ad optimum quemque a minus bono transfertur.*²⁶⁶ In connection with these theories on the rebirth of Rome, the terms ‘Carolingian renaissance’ and ‘twelfth-century renaissance’ have already become very well established in medieval scholarship and associated with a distinct revival of the ancient classics. Between these two renaissances, the concept of another one emerged: the ‘Ottonian renaissance,’ named after the Ottonian emperors, especially after Emperor Otto III, who is said to have restored the Roman empire in the eyes of his contemporaries just before the turn of the first millennium.²⁶⁷ The role of the theory on the rebirth of Rome in these models raises the issue of applying the available information on ancient Roman history also to the concepts of *regnum* and *regalis dignitas* around the year 1000. Early medieval authors had already employed classical Latin texts in order to advertise and promote these concepts. Viewed in a broader context of the products and slogans of the medieval crafting of history, such as the various manifestations of the *laus Romae* motif (*renouatio imperii Romanorum*, *translatio imperii*, and *Roma caput mundi*) and its Central European variants, the idea of Rome in the *Admonitions* suggests that the references to ancient Roman history, parallel to Biblical images, served as a justification of political authority.²⁶⁸

Since the kingdom of Hungary officially joined Latin Christianity, the core of the political ideas of the tenth and the early eleventh century, described as Rome-based

²⁶⁵ Peter Damian, “Passio sanctorum virginum Florae et Lucillae,” *PL* 144, 1026.

²⁶⁶ See Heldmann (1993: 15–26).

²⁶⁷ See Paetow (1910: 11–2); Lopez (1951: 1–21); Trompf (1973: 3–26); Benson, Constable, and Lanham (1991).

²⁶⁸ See Barker (1923: 45–89); Schramm (1929); Balogh (1932: 152–68); Deér (1938: 107–18); Deér (1942a: 52–148); Erdmann (1943: 412–41); Rand (1943: 236–7, 243–7, 260–2); Hammer (1944: 50–62); Sanford (1947: 52–6); Anagnine (1958); Goez (1958); Ladner (1960: 3–14); Newald (1960: 168–82); Mohr (1962); Pratt (1965: 25–44); Benzinger (1968: 33–45); Folz (1969: 61–74); Bak (1973: 33–63); Nees (1991: 114–5); Fillitz (1992: 5–12); Görich (1993: 267–74); Fanning (1998: 3–18); Warner (1999: 1–18); Bak (2000: 65–71); Havas (2002–2003: 127–42).

emperorship and imperial kingship, left an imprint on the *Admonitions* too.²⁶⁹ Nevertheless, as Karl F. Morrison put it, “the identification of the Roman and the Ottonian Empires was not... generally taken for granted, even in the Ottonian chancery. Neither was universality or legal sacerdotalism an inevitable attribute of Ottonian government, least of all in dealings with Rome itself.”²⁷⁰ The Ottonian empire had never become identical with Rome. The medieval idea of Rome in the *Admonitions* can, therefore, only partly be called Ottonian: it was just as much a product of the classical tradition. The usually indirect but clearly existing knowledge of the Latin classics such as Caesar, Cicero, Sallust, Vergil and Livy, read as standard inventories of prestigious historical precedents from the ancient Roman kingdom, republic and empire, contributed to the cult of a ‘virtual’ Rome—a manipulated object of quasi-historical imagination. From the Carolingian period, on the other hand, the presence of these classical authors in the libraries served the study of their language and style rather than the purpose of historical inquiries. Sallust, furthermore, was more important as a moralist and rhetor than as a historian in the Middle Ages. These factors also influenced the ways of tenth-century reception of classical antiquity, literary as well as political, and contributed to the uses of the ancient Roman past in the *Admonitions*.²⁷¹

Furthermore, the *Admonitions* features numerous expressions that resemble classical, patristic and medieval authors. The following is an overview of such expressions and their antecedents.

Preface: *totam meam contriui etatem* – Plautus, *Bacchides* 781: *aetatem conteras*; Terence, *Adelphoe* 869: *contriui in quaerundo uitam atque aetatem meam*; Cicero, *De finibus* 5.20.57: *aetates conterere*; Cicero, *De legibus* 1.20.53: *ut nollent aetatem in libibus conterere*; Cicero, *De oratore* 1.51.219: *totas aetates uidemus esse contritas*; Seneca, *Epistulae Morales ad Lucilium* 88.39: *aetatem in syllabis conteram?*; Lactantius: *qui cum aetates suas in studio philosophiae conterant*; Lactantius: *contritis in querendo aetatis*; Saint Augustine: *contrita aetate*.²⁷²

Preface: *contemptio mandatorum* – Cicero, *Philippicae* 8.8.24: *senatus mandata contemneret*; Saint Cyprian: *dum Domini mandata contemnimus*; Saint Jerome: *contemptis mandatis Dei*; Saint Augustine: *cuius mandata contemnam*; Cassiodorus: *diuina mandata contemneret*; Gregory the Great: *de contemptu mandatorum*; Bede the Venerable: *qui ita Dei mandata contempnunt*; Alcuin: *ex contemptu mandatorum Dei*; Jonas of Orléans: *contemptores mandatorum Dei*; Hrabanus Maurus: *contemptis man-*

²⁶⁹ See Canning (1996: 74–81); Sághy (1997a: 437–52); Sághy (1997b: 257–8); Sághy (2001a: 451–64); Érszegi (2001: 27–38).

²⁷⁰ Morrison (1969: 375). See also Reuter (1982: 347–74).

²⁷¹ See Avenarius (1956: 343–52); Smalley (1971: 165–75); Munk Olsen (1989–1990: 341–7); Mortensen (1998: 415). See also Nemerkényi (2000c: 187–201).

²⁷² SRH 2, 620; Lactantius, “*Diuinae institutiones*,” CSEL 19, 261, 272; Saint Augustine, “*Contra Academicos*,” CCSL 29, 45–6.

datis Dei; Hincmar of Reims: *contemptoribus mandatorum suorum*; Odo of Cluny: *ad contemptum mandatorum Dei*.²⁷³

Chapter One: *pro certo scias* – Plautus, *Bacchides* 511: *ut pote quod pro certo sciam*; Livy, *Ab urbe condita* 25.10.1: *sed, quid rei esset, nemo satis pro certo scire*; Tertullian: *ut homines nolint scire pro certo, quod se nescire pro certo sciunt*; Saint Cyprian: *pro certo scio*; Hrabanus Maurus: *pro certo sciat unusquisque uestrum*; Hincmar of Reims: *pro certo sciatis*; Fulbert of Chartres: *pro certo sciatis*; Adam of Bremen: *pro certo scire*.²⁷⁴

Chapter One: *quod absit* – Cicero, *De inuentione* 2.33.101: *quod absit a culpa*. The expression is common in patristic and medieval Latin.²⁷⁵

Chapter One: *minuere siue augere* – *Rhetorica ad Herennium* 4.16.23: *ut possit bellum fortitudo minuere, pacem humanitas augere*; Cicero, *De inuentione* 2.39.115: *facultates augere, non minuere oportere*; Cicero, *De oratore* 2.66.267: *minuendi aut augendi causa*; Livy, *Ab urbe condita* 10.26.1: *ut nec augere nec minuere uideretur belli famam*; Seneca, *Epistulae morales ad Lucilium* 66.16: *aut minuere illam aut augere possunt*; Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria* 3.4.15: *augere minuere*; Gellius, *Noctes Atticae* 20.8.7: *minuendi et augendi*; Donatus: *augendi minuendue causa*; Macrobius, *Commentarii in Somnium Scipionis* 2.14.30: *aut se augendo aut se minuendo*; Macrobius, *Saturnalia* 4.5.4: *minueret atque augeret*; Priscian: *augeri uel minui*; Justinian, *Digesta* 15.1.4: *cum serui peculium totum adimere uel augere uel minuere dominus possit*; Saint Ambrose: *Hoc igitur impossibile eius plenitudinis est, quae minuere se et augere non potest, non infirmitatis, quae in eo quod se auget inbecilla est*; Saint Augustine: *siue cupiditate augendi pecuniam, siue timore minuendi*; Leo the Great: *non minueret Aecclesiam sed augeret*; Gregory the Great: *ne eius gemitum augeam, quem minuere consolando debueram*; Bede the Venerable: *Hyperbole est dictio fidem excendens augendi minuendue causa*; *Ars Laureshamensis*: *siue in augendo uel in minuendo*; Sedulius Scottus: *augendi minuendue causa*; John Scottus Eriugena: *nec augeri, nec minui*.²⁷⁶

²⁷³ SRH 2, 620; Saint Cyprian, “De lapsis,” CCSL 3, 224; Saint Jerome, “Commentariorum in Matheum libri IV,” CCSL 77, 27; Saint Augustine, “Contra Faustum,” CSEL 25, 310; Cassiodorus, “Expositio Psalmorum,” CCSL 97, 628; Gregory the Great, “In librum primum Regum expositionum libri VI,” CCSL 144, 182; Bede the Venerable, “In Genesim,” CCSL 118A, 154; Alcuin, “Liber de virtutibus et vitiis,” PL 101, 633; Jonas of Orléans, “Opusculum de institutione regia ad Pippinum regem,” PL 106, 300; Hrabanus Maurus, “Commentaria in Matthaeum,” PL 107, 805; Hincmar of Reims, “Ad Carolum III. imperatorem,” PL 125, 991; Odo of Cluny, “Collationes,” PL 133, 553.

²⁷⁴ SRH 2, 621; Tertullian, “Apologeticum,” CCSL 1, 90; Saint Cyprian, “Epistularium,” CCSL 3B, 197; Hrabanus Maurus, “Homiliae de festis praecipuis,” PL 110, 73; Hincmar of Reims, “Epistolae,” PL 126, 262; Behrends (see n. 13, 30); Adam of Bremen, “Gesta Hammaburgensis ecclesiae pontificum,” MGH: *Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum* 2, 26. See also SRH 2, 619: *pro certo sciam*.

²⁷⁵ SRH 2, 621. See also SRH 2, 619, 623.

²⁷⁶ SRH 2, 621; Donatus, “Ars grammatica,” GL 4, 401; Priscian, “Institutionum grammaticarum libri XVIII,” GL 2, 58; Saint Ambrose, “Epistulae,” CSEL 82.1, 188; Saint Augustine, “Contra Julianum,” PL

Chapter One: *Hoc ne fiat, principaliter cura* – Justinian, *Digesta* 50.16.189: *et curaret ne fiat*; Saint Augustine: *ut hoc ne fiat*; Cassiodorus: *hoc ne fiat*; Alcuin: *ut hoc ne fiat*.²⁷⁷

Chapter Five: *capitalis sententie reus* – Cicero, *In Verrem* 2.2.38.94: *rei capitalis reum*; Justinian, *Digesta* 16.3.31: *reus capitalis iudicii*.²⁷⁸

Chapter Seven: *De magnitudine consilii* – Cicero, *De oratore* 2.74.299: *Ut apud Graecos fertur incredibili quadam magnitudine consili atque ingenii Atheniensis ille fuisse Themistocles*; Cicero, *Philippicae* 5.8.23: *cum C. Caesar deorum immortalium beneficio, diuina animi, ingenii, consili magnitudine, quamquam sua sponte eximiaque uirtute* (quoted by Sedulius Scottus); Cicero, *Philippicae* 11.12.28: *C. Cassius, pari magnitudine animi et consili praeditus*; Widukind: *Pater autem uidens prudentiam adolescentis et consili magnitudinem reliquit ei exercitum et militiam*.²⁷⁹

Chapter Seven: *defenditur patria* – Lucretius, *De rerum natura* 2.642: *ac uirtute uelint patriam defendere terram*; Cicero, *De domo sua* 8.19: *ad patriam defendendam*; Cicero, *Philippicae* 8.3.8: *patriam defendimus* (quoted by Sedulius Scottus); Livy, *Ab urbe condita* 24.32.4: *patriam defendi*; Gellius, *Noctes Atticae* 2.7.16: *patriam defendere*; Cassiodorus: *patriae defensio*; Paul the Deacon: *patriae defensor*; Alcuin: *Nec ualuit propriis patriam defendere scutis*; Hincmar of Reims: *patriam fortiter et iuste contra aduersarios defendere*; Wipo: *defensorem patriae*; Adam of Bremen: *eorum patriam canes defendunt*.²⁸⁰

Chapter Seven: *propelluntur inimici* – Cicero, *Pro Caelio* 31.75: *nunc ab sese inimicitias odiumque propulset*; Cicero, *Pro Murena* 1.2: *inimicorum impetus propulsare possim*; Arnobius: *ut a nobis aduersa atque inimica propellant*.²⁸¹

Chapter Seven: *castra aduersariorum* – Caesar, *De bello civili* 1.77.1: *aduersario-*

44, 747; Leo the Great, “Tractatus,” *CCSL* 138A, 516; Gregory the Great, “Registrum epistularum,” *CCSL* 140A, 516; Bede the Venerable, “De schematibus et tropis,” *CCSL* 123A, 161; “Ars Laureshamensis: Expositio in Donatum maiorem,” *CCCM* 40A, 233; Sedulius Scottus, “In Donati artem maiorem,” *CCCM* 40B, 385; John Scottus Eriugena, “De divisione naturae,” *PL* 122, 867.

²⁷⁷ *SRH* 2, 621; Saint Augustine, “In Iohannis evangelium tractatus,” *CCSL* 36, 637; Cassiodorus, “De orthographia,” *GL* 7, 147; Alcuin, “Commentaria in sancti Joannis evangelium,” *PL* 100, 972.

²⁷⁸ *SRH* 2, 624.

²⁷⁹ *SRH* 2, 625; Sedulius Scottus, “Collectaneum miscellaneum,” *CCCM* 67, 241; Widukind, “Rerum gestarum Saxoniarum libri tres,” *MGH: Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum* 60, 27.

²⁸⁰ *SRH* 2, 625; Cassiodorus, “Variarum libri XII,” *CCSL* 96, 115; Paul the Deacon, “Historia Romana,” *MGH: Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum* 49, 29; Alcuin, “Poema de pontificibus et sanctis ecclesiae Eboracensis,” *PL* 101, 815; Sedulius Scottus, “Collectaneum miscellaneum,” *CCCM* 67, 243; Hincmar of Reims, “De divortio Lotharii regis et Theutberga reginae,” *MGH: Concilia* 4.1, 259; Wipo, “Gesta Chuonradi II. imperatoris,” *MGH: Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum* 61, 19; Adam of Bremen, “Gesta Hammaburgensis ecclesiae pontificum,” *MGH: Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum* 2, 248.

²⁸¹ *SRH* 2, 625; Arnobius, “Adversus nationes libri VII,” *CSEL* 4, 130.

rum in castra; Saint Ambrose: *in aduersarii castris*; Hrabanus Maurus: *castra aduersarii*.²⁸²

Chapter Seven: *exprimi debent et poliri* – Cicero, *Pro Archia* 12.30: *nonne multo malle debemus summis ingeniis expressam et politam?*; Prudentius: *Iunonis iram si polite expresserit?*²⁸³

Chapter Seven: *norma sapientie* – Cicero, *Laelius de amicitia* 5.18: *quos sapientes nostri maiores iudicabant, ad istorum normam fuisse sapientes*; Saint Jerome: *sapientiae columen et norma Catoniana seueritatis*; Hrabanus Maurus: *sapientiae normam*.²⁸⁴

Chapter Nine: *cursum etatis tue uite* – Cicero, *In Catilinam* 4.8.17: *cursum hunc otiosum uitae suae*; Cicero, *Cato maior de senectute* 10.33: *Cursus est certus aetatis*; Cicero, *De domo sua* 32.86: *cursum uitae conficere*; Cicero, *Philippicae* 5.17.48: *aetatis cursum celeriorem* (quoted by Sedulius Scottus); Livy, *Ab urbe condita* 9.16.13: *cursu omnium aetatis suae*; Macrobius, *Saturnalia* 1.2.3: *in omni uitae cursu*; Saint Ambrose: *cursum uitae huius*; Saint Augustine: *cursus aetatis suae*; Cassiodorus: *cursum uitae suae*; Gregory the Great: *cursus uitae hominis*; Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiae* 18.38.1: *cursum uitae huius*; Bede the Venerable: *ultimam uitae aetatem*; Alcuin: *per cursum uitae*.²⁸⁵

Chapter Ten: *impiaitate et crudelitate foedatus* – Cicero, *Philippicae* 3.4.9: *non crudelis, non impius*; Cicero, *Philippicae* 14.9.25: *Antoni immanem et foedam crudelitatem*; Cicero, *Philippicae* 14.14.37: *foedissima crudelissimaque seruitute liberatum*; Cicero, *De prouinciis consularibus* 2.3: *foedissime crudelissimeque*; Sallust, *De coniurazione Catilinae* 11.4: *foeda crudeliaque*; Sallust, *De coniurazione Catilinae* 52.36: *foeda atque crudelia facinora*; Livy, *Ab urbe condita* 1.53.8: *crudelibus atque impiis suppliciis*; Servius, *In Vergili Aeneidos libros* 2.539: *foedasti: crudeles impiosque fecisti*; Saint Jerome: *magnitudo crudelitatis et impietatis*; Saint Augustine: *crudelitate atque impiaitate*; Isidore of Seville: *quartum impietatem, quintum crudelitatem*; Bede the Venerable: *Arriana impiaitate foedavit*.²⁸⁶

Chapter Ten: *sibi nomen uendicat regis* – Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria* 1.5.57:

²⁸² SRH 2, 625; Saint Ambrose, “De benedictionibus patriarcharum,” *PL* 14, 692; Hrabanus Maurus, “Commentaria in librum *Judicum*,” *PL* 108, 1154.

²⁸³ SRH 2, 625; Prudentius, “*Carmina*,” *CCSL* 126, 340.

²⁸⁴ SRH 2, 626; Saint Jerome, “*Contra Rufinum*,” *CCSL* 79, 12; Hrabanus Maurus, “Commentarii in librum *Sapientiae*,” *PL* 109, 706.

²⁸⁵ SRH 2, 627; Saint Ambrose, “*De bono mortis*,” *CSEL* 32.1, 704; Saint Augustine, “*Enarrationes in Psalmos*,” *CCSL* 38, 369; Cassiodorus, “*Expositio Psalmorum*,” *CCSL* 97, 544; Gregory the Great, “*Moralia in Iob*,” *CCSL* 143A, 625; Bertram Colgrave and R.A.B. Mynors, ed., *Bede’s Ecclesiastical History of the English People* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969), 496; Alcuin, “*Commentaria in sancti Joannis evangelium*,” *PL* 100, 876; Sedulius Scottus, “*Collectaneum miscellaneum*,” *CCCM* 67, 242.

²⁸⁶ SRH 2, 627; Saint Jerome, “*Commentariorum in Esaiam libri*,” *CCSL* 73, 169; Saint Augustine, “*De ciuitate Dei*,” *CCSL* 47, 78; Isidore of Seville, “*Quaestiones in vetus testamentum*,” *PL* 83, 303; Bede the Venerable, “*De temporum ratione liber*,” *CCSL* 123B, 516.

*usitatum nomen Poeni sibi uindicant; Sedulius Scottus: et idcirco nomen liquidarum sibi proprie uendicant.*²⁸⁷

Chapter Ten: *amabilissime* – Cicero, *Laelius de amicitia* 14.51: *amabilissimum*; Seneca, *Controuersiae* 10.5.25: *amabilissimum*; Seneca, *Controuersiae* 10.5.25: *amabilissimum*.²⁸⁸

Chapter Ten: *nec ad eternum pertingere regnum* – Lucan, *Bellum ciuile* 1.34–5: *aeterna parantur/ regna deis*; Gregory the Great: *ad caelestia regna pertingas* (quoted by Bede the Venerable). The expression *regnum aeternum* is of course common in patristic and medieval Latin.²⁸⁹

As regards these expressions that resemble classical, patristic and medieval authors, it is important to differentiate between direct and indirect quotations and between quotations and common expressions. Some of the antecedents often became part of established expressions that were used automatically without the intention of explicitly quoting an author. It is extremely difficult to define the characteristic features of a quotation, an allusion, a reminiscence, or a simple coincidence.²⁹⁰ It is all the more difficult because Biblical, patristic and classical references frequently overlap and one can hardly establish whether the source is an author's own work or a *florilegium* containing selected passages from classical and patristic texts. Overall, the application of classical references in the *Admonitions* does not aim at the immediate addressee and perhaps not even at a wider learned audience. They are nonetheless important indicators of the author's style and classical training. Nobody knows, however, what the immediate addressee could have learnt from this guidance, because King Stephen's son, Prince Emeric, died in 1031, seven years before the death of his father.

²⁸⁷ *SRH* 2, 627; Sedulius Scottus, “In Donati artem maiorem,” *CCCM* 40B, 13.

²⁸⁸ *SRH* 2, 627. See also *SRH* 2, 619.

²⁸⁹ *SRH* 2, 627; Gregory the Great, “Registrum epistularum,” *CCSL* 140A, 973; Bede the Venerable, “*Expositio super epistolas catholicas*,” *PL* 93, 105.

²⁹⁰ See Löfstedt (1949: 148–64).

CHAPTER THREE

The *Deliberatio* of Bishop Saint Gerard of Csand

Saint Gerard’s life has received both pious and scholarly attention from his medieval legends, through the formation of critical hagiography, including the Bollandists and Jean Mabillon, to the present day.²⁹¹ Gerard was born in Venice after 977, possibly in the Morosini family—later another Venetian family, the Sagredo, claimed that Gerard was an offspring of their lineage.²⁹² He was given to the monastery of Saint George in the Isola di San Giorgio Maggiore in Venice as an oblate.²⁹³ According to the fourteenth-century *Legenda maior*, the monastery sent Gerard to Bologna, where he studied grammar, philosophy, music, and canon law: *constituerunt Gerhardum et Sirdianum, quibus datis expensarum necessariis Bononiam transmiserunt, ubi notabiliter egregieque in scientiis gramatice, phylozophie, musice et decreti omniumque liberalium scientiarum artibus instructi quinto tandem anno reuocati sunt, ipsarum scientiarum libros secum apportantes*. This report, however, is in many regards an anachronistic invention of the hagiographer.²⁹⁴

On the other hand, Gerard himself also mentions various places in his *Deliberatio*, such as Italy, Gaul, Greece, Verona, Ravenna and of course Venice: *Italia non consuevit haereses nutrire, ad praesens in quibusdam partibus haeresium fomentis abundare auditur. Gallia uero felix, quae his munda perhibetur. Graecia infelix, sine quibus nunquam uiuere uoluit. Verona, urbium Italiae nobilissima, his grauida redditur. Illustris Rauenna, et beata Venetia, qua nunquam inimicos Dei passae sunt ferre*. This enumeration is more of a literary device than a list of places he visited. The expression *felix Gallia*, for instance, occurs in a sermon of Leo the Great (*Felix es, Gallia, quae tantos ac tales meruisti suscipere sacerdotes*) and in a hymn of Walafrid Strabo (*Felix Gallia fortibus tropaeis*). The expression *Verona nobilissima* appears later in the Annals of Hildesheim at the year 1117: *Verona, ciuitas Italiae nobilissima*. The expression *beata Venetia*, finally, also occurs in a sermon of Peter Damian: *sed praecipue tu*

²⁹¹ See “*Legenda sancti Gerhardi episcopi*,” *SRH* 2, 461–506; *AASS Septembries* 6, 713–27; Mabillon (1739: 133, 301, 415–6, 449, 453); Banfi (1947: 223–41); Banfi (1948: 262–330); Klaniczay and Madas (1996: 113–40); Berschin (2001: 569–72); Jotischky (2002: 241–2, 256–7); Püspöki Nagy (2002). See also Grégoire (1967: 264–5); Canetti (1999: 359–61).

²⁹² See Cicogna (1834: 245–6); Szegfu (1983: 11–8).

²⁹³ See Sansovino (1663: 218–26, 553–4); Corner (1758: 467–85); Lugano (1929: 129–30); Tramontin (1988: 160–6); Rando (1994: 134).

²⁹⁴ “*Legenda sancti Gerhardi episcopi*,” *SRH* 2, 483. See Schmale (1957: 16–34).

*felix es et nimium beata, Venetia.*²⁹⁵ Gerard's preoccupation with place names, in connection with eminent centers of learning, appears elsewhere in the *Deliberatio* too: *in Platone quippe disputaciones quondam apud Galliam constitutus quasdam de Deo Hebraeorum confidenter fateor me legisse.*²⁹⁶ One of his sentences of this kind merits special attention: *Dicat mihi, qui uult, quia multa legi, multa cucurri. In Spania fui doctus, in Britannia eruditus, in Scotia detritus, in Hybernia studui, omnes liberales disciplinas commendau memoriae, ideo nil lectionis me effugere potest.* The use of the word *quia* in its Biblical Latin sense makes it clear that Gerard is quoting a fictitious adversary. One might risk a hypothesis here regarding his use of the verbs *legi* and *cucurri*. The occurrence of these particular verbs suggests that this sentence might contain a simple word game, applying these verbs as grammatical examples and thus metaphors of intellectual training: *quia multa legi, multa cucurri* might mean that the person whom Gerard is quoting has gained profound expertise in the conjugation of the verbs, that is, in grammar. This hypothesis seems all the more feasible because these two verbs typically serve as grammatical examples, for instance in Boethius (*Tempus secum trahunt, ut est curro et lego, uel cucurri et legi, et quaecunque sunt uerba*) and Priscian ("lego legi" ... "curro cucurri").²⁹⁷

Later hagiographers do not mention such journeys that would support the theory of Gerard's actual travels to the places to which he refers in his *Deliberatio*. They do state, however, that he wanted to go to the Holy Land as a pilgrim but never reached Jerusalem, because King Stephen persuaded him on his way that he should stay in Hungary and convert the pagan Hungarians. While in Hungary, Gerard may have met Abbot Richard of Saint Vannes, who was crossing the country during a pilgrimage in 1026. Gerard himself refers to his acquaintance with a certain Abbot Richard in his *Deliberatio*: *In libello autem, quem ad Andream presbiterum diuinae germanitatis uirum de diuino patrimonio expressimus, qui nunc apud abbatem Richardum, incontaminatum Christi famulum diuinitus eruditum est.* Ademar of Chabannes also reports on Abbot Richard's sojourn in Hungary in his chronicle: *Eo tempore Willermus Egolismensis comes per Baioariam iter egit ad sepulchrum Domini. Comitati sunt eum Odo Bituricus princeps Dolensis, Ricardus abbas Verdunensis, Ricardus abbas Sancti Eparchii Egolismensis, et princeps eius et consiliarius eius Giraldus Fanesinus, et Amalfredus postea abbas, et magna caterua nobilium. Stephanus rex Ungariae cum omni honore suscepit et muneribus ditauit.* Another contemporary, Abbot Eberwin of

²⁹⁵ CCCC 49, 51; Leo the Great, "Sermones inediti," PL 56, 1150; Walafrid Strabo, "Hymnus de Agaunensibus martyribus," PL 114, 1085; "Annales Hildesheimenses," MGH: *Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum* 8, 64; Peter Damian, "Sermones," CCCC 57, 82.

²⁹⁶ CCCC 49, 41.

²⁹⁷ CCCC 49, 152; Plater and White (1926: 119–20); Blaise (1994: 92–5); Boethius, "In librum Aristotelis de interpretatione editio prima," PL 64, 302; Priscian, "Institutionum grammaticarum libri XVIII," GL 2, 459.

Trier, mentions Richard's intention to visit Jerusalem: *Ea igitur tempestate contigit Richardum Abbatem, uirum perfectis uiris imitabilem, piae deuotionis gratia sancta Hierosolymae uelle inuisere loca.*²⁹⁸

Later Gerard moved to Bakonybél as a hermit. The twelfth-century *Legenda minor* describes his retreat in the following way: *Postquam seruus Domini se solum merens repperit, tumultum populi deuitans in eadem regione heremum, que uulgo Bel uocatur, petit, ubi per VII annos ieuniis dictaminumque exercitiis deditus excepto Mauro monacho solus habitauit.* One cannot attribute much credit to the details of this report, because it reflects a hagiographic *topos* that also appears in Saint Benedict's life in the *Legenda aurea*: *Postmodum nutricem occulte fugiens in quendam locum uenit, ubi tribus annis hominibus incognitus mansit, excepto quodam monacho Romano nomine, qui sibi sedule necessaria ministrabat.*²⁹⁹ The Annals of Pozsony recorded at the year 1030 that *Gerardus episcopus ordinatur*. Gerard was first bishop of Csanád between 1030 and 1046, in a bishopric founded by King Stephen. The recently established cathedral was dedicated to Saint George, a circumstance that could bear witness to the influence of Gerard's origin from the monastery of San Giorgio Maggiore in Venice.³⁰⁰ Only the fourteenth-century *Legenda maior* records the establishment of the cathedral school at Csanád, and its colorful description of Masters Henry and Walter, teachers of *lectura, cantus, grammatica, musica* and *computus*, does not reflect the circumstances of the early eleventh century.³⁰¹ The diocese of Csanád was adjacent to Byzantine territory and Bishop Gerard probably had to deal with heretics as well as Hungarians who supported the program of pagan restoration. He therefore became involved in the political affairs of Hungary (which he called *Pannonia* instead of *Hungaria, Ungaria* or *Ungria* in the *Deliberatio*).³⁰² It is significant that even Gerard's strongly disapproving judgment about developments in Hungary is embedded in literary traditions: *Si prophetae falsi nihilominus sunt in terra, non plura, quamquam saepissime plura, et imunda illi narrare possunt, qui uix psalmis auditis in schola cathedras arripuerunt episcopales. De cetero Germania narret, et Pannonia non sileat.* The closing sentence equally echoes the *Disticha Catonis* (1.15: *Officium alterius multis narrare memento; at quaecumque aliis beneficeris ipse, sileto*) and Saint Augustine's *Confessiones* (*de que illo mihi narrauit quod non silebo*).³⁰³ After the death of King Stephen, Bishop Gerard had problematic political relations with Kings Peter Orseolo and Samuel Aba,

²⁹⁸ *CCCM* 49, 178; Ademar of Chabannes, "Chronicon," *CCCM* 129, 184; Eberwin of Trier, "Vita sancti Symeonis," *AASS Junii* 1, 89.

²⁹⁹ "Legenda sancti Gerhardi episcopi," *SRH* 2, 472; Th. Graesse, ed., *Jacobi a Voragine Legenda aurea vulgo Historia Lombardica dicta* (Osnabrück: Zeller, 1965), 204. See also Sörös (1899: 669–76).

³⁰⁰ "Annales Posonienses," *SRH* 1, 125. See also Kristó (1981: 129–35); Magyar (1998: 161–82); Sághy (2001b: 469–81).

³⁰¹ "Legenda sancti Gerhardi episcopi," *SRH* 2, 492–6. See Riché (1989–1990: 415–6).

³⁰² *CCCM* 49, 37, 70. See Mezey (1970b: 795–800).

³⁰³ *CCCM* 49, 70; Saint Augustine, "Confessiones," *CCLSL* 27, 114–5.

which became a matter of intense debate in Hungarian historiography. Finally, Gerard was killed in a pagan uprising in Buda in 1046. In the report of the Annals of Pozsony the following is recounted: *Interficiuntur episcopi Gerardus et Modestus et Petrus rex cum dolo obsecatur et Andreas rex eleuatur*. The Annals of Altaich recorded the Hungarian pagan revolt in the following manner: *Pontifices etiam terrae illius pene omnes hac sunt tempestate prostrati, necon cum clericis monachorum nonnulli; omnes ergo perseuerantes in fide trucidabantur miserabili crudelitate*.³⁰⁴ As the Annals of Pozsony reported, Gerard was canonized as a martyr together with King Stephen and Prince Emeric in 1083: *dominus rex Stephanus et Henricus filius eius et Gerardus episcopus reuelantur (for releuantur)*.³⁰⁵

According to the twelfth-century *Legenda minor*, Gerard was always busy writing and reading, even during his travels: *Quando enim homo Dei de loco ad locum proficiscicebatur, non quolibet iumento, sed modico utebatur uehiculo, in quo sedens libros quos ex Spiritu Sancti gratia composuerat, relegebat*. The fourteenth-century *Legenda maior* also reports on his daily routine of writing books in the hermitage of Bakonybél: *edificans sibi cellam, in qua dictabat libros, quos propria manu scribebat*. The hagiographic topos of writing also appears in the life of Saint Ambrose in the *Legenda aurea* (*Tantae humilitatis ac laboris, ut libros, quos dictabat, propria manu scribebat, nisi cum infirmitate corporis grauaretur*), and probably originates from classical and patristic literary conventions – similar examples occur already in Ammianus Marcellinus (*Res gestae* 15.1.3: *dictando scribendoque propria manu*) and also Saint Jerome (*ut saepe testatus sum, labore propria scribendi manu ferre non ualeo*).³⁰⁶ Nonetheless, Gerard was indeed really a prolific writer. Besides his *Deliberatio*, he authored at least three other treatises and a collection of homilies. His treatises are not extant today, but he refers to them in the *Deliberatio*: a commentary on Saint Paul's letter to the Hebrews (*secundum mediocritatem meam, in primo capitulo epistolae Pauli ad Hebraeos*), a commentary on the first letter of John (*circa mediocritatem meam, ubi loquitur coelestis dialecticus Ioannes*) and a work called *De diuino patrimonio* (*Supra autem hoc in libello de diuino patrimonio, quem nuperrime in tabellis solius ad Andream diuinum fratrem exemplicaui; In libello autem, quem ad Andream presbiterum diuine germanitatis uirum de diuino patrimonio expressimus*). It is difficult to establish what the title *De diuino patrimonio* refers to, because the term hardly appears in patristic writings, except for a passing reference in Saint Ambrose (*Vides quod diuinum*

³⁰⁴ “Annales Posonienses,” *SRH* 1, 125; “Annales Altahenses maiores,” *MGH: Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum* 4, 43. See Szegfű (1973: 23–36); Kosztolnyik (1974: 569–86); Szegfű (1979b: 19–28); Kosztolnyik (2002: 271–84).

³⁰⁵ “Annales Posonienses,” *SRH* 1, 126. See Klaniczay (2002: 123–34).

³⁰⁶ “*Legenda sancti Gerhardi episcopi*,” *SRH* 2, 474, 488–9; Graesse (see n. 299, 253); Saint Jerome, “*Commentarii in prophetas minores*,” *CCSL* 76, 300. See Hamesse (1989: 168–94).

patrimonium potentibus datur).³⁰⁷ Apart from some Marian sermons attributed to Gerard,³⁰⁸ an early fourteenth-century manuscript (Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibliothek, St. Peter perg. 23, fol. 113v) preserves Gerard's closing words to a collection of homilies: *Hic etiam beatus Gerardus de incarnatione domini et de beata uirgine omelias et sermones nouo quodam modo more peroptimo compilauit... Homeliae de incarnatione domini et de beata uirgine... Denique sine omni pene librorum sumptu inter gentiles episcopus constitutus in Pannonie finibus a rege eiusdem prouincie christianissimo Stephano quae terminis iungitur pincenetorum* (that is, the Pechenegs).³⁰⁹

Saint Gerard's only work extant today in its entire length is the *Deliberatio*, surviving in a single manuscript that contains this piece exclusively: Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 6211. According to the recent catalog of the Munich manuscripts by Günter Glauche, the codex is written in Caroline minuscule, dates from the second half of the eleventh century, and has 167 leaves, with a foliation from the nineteenth century. Its provenance is not completely known, because it cannot be attributed to a specific *scriptorium*, but most probably it already belonged to the library of Freising under Bishop Ellenhard (1053–1078). Earlier, Gabriel Silagi formulated a hypothesis about the codex being copied from an *exemplar* in Admont or Salzburg. A possessor's note by a twelfth-century hand at the top of fol. 1r (*liber iste est sancte marie sanctique corbiniani frisingensis*), mentioning Saint Corbinian, patron saint of the diocese of Freising, confirms that the codex belonged to the Freising library.³¹⁰ The codex, containing 167 leaves and an average of twenty-five lines a page, might have taken around seventy days to complete—according to calculations made on the basis of early eleventh-century manuscripts.³¹¹ Karl Meichelbeck discovered the manuscript in the chapter library of Freising in 1724. Since the reputed Jesuit scholar György Pray did not undertake the editorial task, the apostolic ambassador to Vienna, Cardinal Giuseppe Garampi, forwarded the manuscript to the bishop of Csanád, but he did not edit the text either. Garampi then sent it to the bishop of Transylvania, Ignác Batthyány, who eventually had it transcribed and provided the printed text in 1790.³¹²

The full title of the work is *Deliberatio supra hymnum trium puerorum ad Isingrimum liberalem*. It is a mystical exegetical treatise on an important text of the monastic liturgy, a short passage from the book of the Prophet Daniel (3.57–65): a part of the song of Daniel's three friends who did not obey the command of Nebuchadnezzar to

³⁰⁷ CCCM 49, 75, 120, 153, 178; Saint Ambrose, "Expositio evangelii secundum Lucam," CCSL 14, 288. See Szegfű (1999a: 165–76).

³⁰⁸ Barré (1963: 262–96); Madas (1999: 396–9); Madas (2002: 13–48).

³⁰⁹ Heinzer (1982: 1–7); Heinzer and Stamm (1984: 57–61); Szegfű (1985a: 19–29); Vizkelety (1985b: 83); Kristó (see n. 13, 405–7); Szegfű (1999b: 12–21).

³¹⁰ See Glauche (2000: 16–7). See also Halm, Thomas, and Meyer (1873: 73); Karácsonyi (1894: 10–3); Dürig (1954: 168); Silagi (1967: 17); Vizkelety (1985a: 82); Csapodi and Csapodiné Gárdonyi (1995: 42).

³¹¹ See Gullick (1995: 39–58). See also Skeat (1956: 179–208).

³¹² See Juhász (1930a: 21–5); Vanysacker (1995: 143–227).

worship the golden statue and were therefore accused of disobedience, sentenced to death, and thrown into a fiery furnace, but came out of the fire with no harm.³¹³ The term in the title, *hymnus trium puerorum*, had a lasting history in the works of patristic, Merovingian and Carolingian authors. Already Zeno of Verona provides a spiritual interpretation of the hymn: *Igitur cum audio tres pueros incensos, prius uehementer horresco, mox deinde eorum particeps optauerim fieri, cum cognosco inter flamas rosculentos hymnum deo cecinisse securos; Ecce pueri sacramento muniti tres numero, sed una uirtute, anhelantibus flammis, camino rugiente non laeduntur. Incensi hymnum canunt; Mors refugiens mutat officium: incensores cremantur, incensis hymnum canentibus flamma blanditur. Deus a creatura uniuersa benedicitur. In tribus una mens, una uirtus, unus triumphus exsultat.* The term also appears in Saint Jerome (*hymnum trium puerorum*), Saint Augustine (*et benedicant in hymno trium puerorum frigus et aestus Dominum*), Sedulius (*Namque trium puerorum in camino canentium ab omni creatura per ordinem benedicendum Dominum generalis hymnus exclamat*) and Fulgentius (*Sed etiam in hymno trium puerorum nihilominus legitur*). The proceedings of the Council of Toledo in 633 refer to the ancient liturgical custom of singing this hymn: *Hymnum quoque trium puerorum, in quo uniuersa coeli terraeque creatura Deum collaudat et quem ecclesia catholica per totum orbem diffusa celebrat, quidam sacerdotes in missa dominicorum dierum et in solemnitatibus martyrum canere negligunt: proinde hoc sanctum concilium instituit, ut per omnes ecclesias Hispaniae uel Galliae in omnium missarum solemnitate idem hymnus in pulpito decantetur; communionem amissuri qui et antiquam huius hymni consuetudinem nostramque definitionem excesserint.* (Walafrid Strabo later quotes these proceedings: *In eiusdem loci concilio statutum est ut etiam hymnus trium puerorum ad missam omni Dominica in pulpito cantaretur. Quod Romani propter multiplicitudinem officiorum non faciunt nisi quatuor per annum diebus, quibus lectionum duodecim numerus adimpletur.*) The hymn played an important role in Merovingian hagiography as well (*Cum autem hiemps uel nox ibi intonarent, beatus Vincencianus hymnum trium puerorum canebat, dicens: "Benedicite glacies et niues Domino, benedicite noctes et dies Domino"*). The popularity of the hymn among Carolingian authors is attested by Smaragdus of Saint Mihiel, who applies it as a grammatical example for explaining various features of the pronoun in his commentary on Donatus: *Inuenimus tamen, ubi una sine altera in prolixo ponitur sermone, ut est in hymno trium puerorum, ubi frequenter sine pronomine positum inuenitur nomen, ut est: "benedicite omnia opera Domini Domino" et similiter usque in finem. Nam et uno tantum praecedente nomine pronomina posita inueniuntur plurima, ut est: "laudate Dominum de caelis, laudate eum in excelsis," usque "et aquae, quae super caelos sunt." Similiter: "laudate Dominum in sanctis eius, laudate eum in firmamento uirtutis eius," usque in finem psalmi: semper pronomina po-*

³¹³ See Stegmüller (1950: 338).

*nuntur in uice nominis. Iure tamen semper pronomini paeponitur nomen, quoniam si-
bi semper significationem retinet plenam, illi uero tribuit semiplenam.* Hrabanus Mau-
rus provides a detailed exegesis of the passage. Walafrid Strabo composes a poem on
the hymn: *Omnipotentem/ Et benedicant/ Astra polorum/ Solque sororque/ Sic quoque
Lymphae,/ Ros pluiaeque/ Ignis et aetas,/ Frigus et ardor,/ Nix glaciesque/ Lux te-
nebraeque/ Arida montes,/ Flumina fontes,/ Omnia uiua,/ Quae uehit aer,/ Cuncta ho-
minum gens/ Semper adorent/ Omne per aeuum./ Cuncta, chorique/ Lumina coeli/*
Omnipotentem./ Quaeque supernae,/ Spiritus omnis/ Omnipotentem./ Cauma geluque/
Atque pruinæ/ Omnipotentem./ Noxque diesque,/ Fulgura nubes/ Omnipotentem./
*Germina colles,/ Pontus et undæ/ Omnipotentem./ Quae uehit aequor/ Terraque nu-
trit,/ Omnipotentem./ Israel ipse/ Omnipotentem.* Finally, Haymo of Halberstadt also
speaks about it in his homilies: *Quod hymnus trium puerorum pleniter declarat, qui in
camino ignis ardantis soluti deambulantes, non solum Deum benedicebant, sed etiam
creaturam ad eum laudandum prouocabant.*³¹⁴

The *editio princeps* of Saint Gerard's *Deliberatio* by Ignác Batthyány is the first of
the three editions that represent the milestones in the philological studies on the work
in Hungary and beyond. In a detailed *dissertatio prævia*, Batthyány discussed the
question of authorship, the literary context and the structure of the work, Gerard's the-
ology and philosophy, and the historical background. His critical notes included lexi-
cal remarks, Biblical and patristic quotations, and classical (mainly Ciceronian) textual
parallels, as well as liturgical and theological explanations. Interestingly, Batthyány
also added linguistic observations regarding the influence of the vernacular Hungarian
on Gerard's Latin. Besides praising Batthyány's pioneering undertaking, subsequent
scholarship provided further textual notes to the edition and numerous corrections of
its readings. The critical evaluation of Batthyány's edition refuted his theory on the in-
fluence of vernacular Hungarian and proposed instead that Gerard's Latin reflected his
native Italian.³¹⁵ The *Corpus Christianorum* edition by Gabriel Silagi made the text
widely accessible in 1978. Based on Silagi's edition, the *Deliberatio* became part of
the material for the lexicographic project on the Latinity of medieval Hungary.³¹⁶ After

³¹⁴ Zeno of Verona, "Tractatus," *CCSL* 22, 82, 189, 201; Saint Jerome, "Contra Rufinum," *CCSL* 79, 70; Saint Augustine, "Contra Julianum," *PL* 44, 801; Sedulius, "Paschale opus," *CSEL* 10, 222; Fulgentius, "Epistula XIV ad Ferrandum," *CCSL* 91, 392; "Concilium Toletanum IV.," *PL* 84, 371; Walafrid Strabo, "De rebus ecclesiasticis," *PL* 114, 947; Pseudo-Hermenbert, "Vita Vincentiani confessoris Avolcensis," *MGH: Scriptores rerum Merovingicarum* 5, 121; Smaragdus of Saint Mihiel, "Liber in partibus Donatii," *CCCM* 68, 91–2; Hrabanus Maurus, "Commentaria ad cantica quae ad matutinas laudes dicuntur," *PL* 112, 1151–9; Walafrid Strabo, "De hymno trium puerorum," *PL* 114, 1105; Haymo of Halberstadt, "Homiliae de sanctis," *PL* 118, 757–8.

³¹⁵ Ignác Batthyány, ed., *Sancti Gerardi episcopi Chanadiensis scripta et acta hactenus inedita cum serie
episcoporum Chanadiensium* (Karlsruhe: Typis Episcopalis, 1790), 1–297; Sörös (1902: 579–86); Hó-
man (1925: 22); Guoth (1938: 176–7); Istványi (1940: 209). See also Meister (1950: 1–9).

³¹⁶ *CCCM* 49; reviewed by Ward (1980: 361–2); Klaniczay (1980: 544–6). See also *LLMAH* 1, xxxvii.

long preparation, the third edition by Béla Karácsonyi and László Szegfű appeared in 1999.³¹⁷

The approach of philologists has so far proven more rewarding than that of historians in the relevant scholarship on the *Deliberatio*: the philological inquiries have already contributed a great deal to the understanding of the author's peculiar Latinity, style and use of sources. Since Batthyány's edition was hardly accessible and Migne did not print the text in the *Patrologia Latina* (and thus at least did not do irreversible damage to the text either), Western scholarship usually knew of the work from second-hand information before the publication of Silagi's edition.³¹⁸ What Astrik L. Gabriel later called "a jewel of eleventh-century theological literature," had been treated in the nineteenth century as a work of a scholastic author in Hungarian scholarship.³¹⁹ The reviewer of János Karácsonyi's first scholarly monograph on Saint Gerard regarded the *Deliberatio* as a worthless reading from the positivist historian's point of view. Later research discarded this observation and focused on Gerard's 'mystical theology'.³²⁰

In spite of the many accomplishments of previous scholarship, no systematic study has been devoted to the medieval glosses in the Munich manuscript of the *Deliberatio*. Relevant scholarship has not hitherto been able definitely to prove the direct influence of the *Deliberatio* on other texts in Hungary or elsewhere in the Middle Ages (since it exerted virtually no influence on medieval Latin literature); it would be indeed surprising, given the fact that only one of its manuscripts is known today. Apart from an isolated attempt to suggest that Otto of Freising may have known the *Deliberatio*, the only surviving manuscript apparently supported a tacit consensus about a work that nobody read in the Middle Ages.³²¹ This is precisely why the glosses of the Munich manuscript can contribute to the understanding of how medieval readers used the work. All three editions take the medieval glosses in the manuscript into account to some ex-

³¹⁷ Béla Karácsonyi and László Szegfű, ed., *Deliberatio Gerardi Moresanae aecclesiae episcopi supra hymnum trium puerorum* (Szeged: Scriptum, 1999); reviewed by Sulyok (2000: 8–12); Nemerkényi (2000b: 402–5); Vajda (2002: 176–81). See also Karácsonyi (1974: 213–28); Béla Karácsonyi and László Szegfű, "Szemelvények Gellért Deliberatio-jából" (Passages from the *Deliberatio* of Gerard), *Világosság* 17.2 (1976): 97–9; Sándor V. Kovács, ed., *A magyar középkor irodalma* (The literature of medieval Hungary) (Budapest: Szépirodalmi Könyvkiadó, 1984), 615–38, 1141–5; Radu Constantinescu, ed., *Gerard din Cenad: Armonia lumii sau tâlmâcire a cîntării celor trei coconi către Isingrim dascălul* (Gerard of Csanád: The harmony of the light or the interpretation of the song of the three boys dedicated to Master Isingrim) (Bucharest: Meridian, 1984); Edit Madas, ed., *Szöveggyűjtemény a régi magyar irodalom történetéhez: Középkor (1000–1530)* (Selections of texts for the history of old Hungarian literature: Middle Ages, 1000–1530) (Budapest: Tankönyvkiadó, 1992), 28–9, 559–60; Kristó (see n. 13, 188–212).

³¹⁸ See Ivánka (1942c: 497–500); Bloch (1994: 58–77).

³¹⁹ See Novák (1865: 561–83); Mátray (1878a: 25–52); Mátray (1878b: 209–23); Békesi (1896: 364–99); Gabriel (1962: 14).

³²⁰ Karácsonyi (1887: 191–258); reviewed by Pauler (1888: 57–65). See also Hajdu (1902: 381–97); Morin (1910: 516–21); Karácsonyi (1925: 107–11); Ibrányi (1938: 493–556); Erdélyi (1941: 71); Nemerkényi (2003a: 3–19).

³²¹ Hofmeister (1912: 714).

tent and include them in their critical *apparatus*—naturally, however, their primary interest lies in the text of the *Deliberatio* itself. Besides the scribe's hand, glosses by various hands appear in the manuscript, although they do not provide a wide range of the various types of medieval Latin glosses such as lexical, morphological, syntactic, prosodic or textual.³²²

The glosses in the Munich manuscript usually consist of a couple of words or short sentences only; they give brief paraphrases and excerpts, highlight personal names occurring in the text, specify several Biblical references, occasionally define the author's method, and praise his style. The editors identify more hands, but basically there are two types of gloss in the manuscript. One of them originates from a late eleventh-century corrector who inserted interlinear revisions (superscript above the letter, syllable or word in question) regarding the scribe's abbreviations and orthography, as well as the author's syntax. The second type is provided by a late medieval reader of the *Deliberatio*, whom Gabriel Silagi identifies with the bishop of Freising, Johannes Grünwalder (1392–1452)—his marginal glosses in the codex run from fol. 2r to 116v, but he left the last fifty leaves intact. A survey and interpretation of some of the representative glosses in the order of their appearance in Book One, the shortest of the eight books of the *Deliberatio* from fol. 1r to 10r, provides an insight into the modest but no doubt existing *Fortleben* of Gerard's work.

The interlinear gloss of the late eleventh-century corrector on fol. 2v, for instance, inserts the conjunction *ut* between *Utrumque* and *autem* probably because the following verb *admittatur* is in the subjunctive. The formula *utrumque ut* indeed exists in classical, patristic and medieval Latin (just like *utrumque autem*); the editions of Silagi and Karácsonyi and Szegfű adapt the corrector's syntactic gloss and correct the text accordingly.³²³ On fol. 3v, the corrector added a superscript *d* above the verb *succedit*—Bathyány does not report on the insertion, but Silagi records it, while Karácsonyi and Szegfű assume that the corrector read a grammatically incorrect *succensit* in the text and corrected it to *succedit*. However, there is no need to ponder whether it is an innocent misspelling or a serious grammatical mistake on the part of the author or the scribe: the manuscript clearly reads *succedit*, a present perfect tense just like the neighboring verbs *erexit* and *dedit*. This is how a redundant morphological hypercriticism by a medieval corrector finds its way into a modern critical edition.³²⁴ Elsewhere, the corrector's interlinear notes make *quotiens* of *quoties* and *tociens* of *tocies*. Whereas Bathyány does not incorporate these corrections into his edition, Silagi and Karácsonyi and Szegfű do. Going beyond the editions, it is interesting that the corrector inserts the nasal consonants and thus makes the words look more classical, but he

³²² See Wieland (1998: 59–60).

³²³ MS 2v; Bathyány 4; CCCM 49, 3; Karácsonyi and Szegfű 8.

³²⁴ MS 3v; Bathyány 6; CCCM 49, 4; Karácsonyi and Szegfű 12. See Reeve (2000: 196–206).

does not standardize *tociens* to the classical form *totiens*, although its counterpart figures in its classical form in the same sentence. No wonder that his apparent lexical inconsistency is addressed differently in the editions.³²⁵ Elsewhere, the silence of the glossators is also informative, as on fol. 5r where one sentence reads thus: *In hoc quoque nobis aderis, nisi brachis ciceronis astringaris*. Referring to Cicero, the symbol of classical Latin eloquence, in an exegetical treatise is always significant, and his name indeed rarely figures in the *Deliberatio*—if so, generally in a negative context. However, the readers of the codex either overlooked this passage or simply did not care about it, or took it for granted that the author referred to Cicero. In any case, Bishop Grünwalder was probably not the type of careful humanist who would be particularly excited about a reference to Cicero in an eleventh-century exegetical treatise. For him, the text did not serve to satisfy his literary curiosity; rather, it was a starting point for meditation—in fact, in accordance with the intent of the author.³²⁶ Three lines below the reference to Cicero in the manuscript, the text reads *macrobrius* but the misspelled Macrobius does not receive more attention either: there is no marginal gloss or interlinear correction. Simply transcribing the manuscript here, the *Corpus Christianorum* edition prints the misspelled version with no comment.³²⁷

In the absence of alternative surviving manuscripts of the *Deliberatio* of Bishop Gerard of Csand today, one must leave many of the questions of the glosses open, and conclude instead that the glosses apparently figure at random in the manuscript. Given their nature, one can realize that many passages of the text might well have been glossed, but they are left intact without any mark of interest on behalf of the readers. One cannot, therefore, speak about systematic commentaries but only about occasional marginal and interlinear annotations. The usually grammar-related glosses of the eleventh-century corrector and the absolutely content-related glosses of the fifteenth-century Bishop Grünwalder obviously reveal two types of reader. While the corrector has grammatical and orthographic concerns about the manuscript, Grünwalder is definitely not a philologist type. He seemingly does not care about the textual problems pinpointed by the corrector’s hand in front of him. On the other hand, many of his marginal glosses can also be interpreted as additional chapter divisions of the work, whose books are otherwise not divided into chapters, the text simply running from the beginning of a book to its very end without signs of further divisions. The scribe of the manuscript apparently did not follow the learned tradition of dividing a text into chapters, although this tradition had influential proponents such as Cassiodorus (*Institutiones* 2.pr.1: *Nunc tempus est ut aliis septem titulis saecularium lectionum praesentis libri textum percurrere debeamus; De anima: Tempus est ut quaestionum uarietate di-*

³²⁵ MS 3v; Bathyy 6–7; CCCM 49, 4; Karcsonyi and Szegf 12. See Stotz (1996: 294–301).

³²⁶ MS 5r; Bathyy 9; CCCM 49, 5; Karcsonyi and Szegf 18.

³²⁷ MS 5r; Bathyy 9; CCCM 49, 5; Karcsonyi and Szegf 18. See also Httig (1990: 64, 66).

missa dictorum copiosissimam densitatem in quibusdam manipulis colligamus ut fideli calculo numerata horreis memoriae compendiosa breuitate condantur).³²⁸ Grünwald, however, was probably not glossing the text in order to prepare it for classroom use. He was more interested in individual reading and pious meditation. After all, that is what the work was written for. It remains another open question whether the orthographic and other grammatical features that are glossed can be attributed to Gerard himself or simply to the scribe of the Munich manuscript. Until the unlikely but certainly welcome event of the discovery of another manuscript, however, one must rely considerably on the glosses and the tools of medieval Latin philology in order to explore the textual history of the *Deliberatio* in the Middle Ages. The medieval glosses in the manuscript therefore not only give information about the provenance of the codex but also present a specific case of how the scribe copied the text, how medieval readers read, corrected and commented on it, and how they contributed to its impact from the early reception to the critical editions.

An important issue related to Gerard's literary training has also been largely neglected in previous scholarship, namely the problem of the libraries accessible to him: the monastic library of Venice, the cathedral library of Csand, the monastic library of Marosvr, and his personal library.³²⁹ The preface to Batthyny's *editio princeps* in 1790 challenges the notion of the *paucitas librorum* and argues for an impressive library culture in the eleventh century.³³⁰ Not much hard evidence supports this contention, however, in Gerard's immediate surroundings. The 982 foundation and donation deed by Doge Tribuno Memmo for the monastery of San Giorgio Maggiore in Venice mentions liturgical books only (*cum toto edificio, libris, thesauro*), and there is no library catalog surviving from the eleventh century.³³¹ There is absolutely no direct evidence for the holdings of the Csand cathedral library either, although the probable presence of Greek manuscripts in the Greek monastery of Marosvr in the Csand diocese and the references to the *Corpus Areopagiticum* in the *Deliberatio* even raised the question of Bishop Gerard's knowledge of Greek. Furthermore, there are hypotheses about Gerard's private library, a personal collection of manuals containing excerpts, which he may have brought along from Italy to Hungary.³³²

The question of Gerard's knowledge of Greek invited numerous valuable scholarly endeavors. The notion of Byzantine influence in Venice in the tenth and eleventh centuries serves as a point of departure for the hypotheses in favor of his expertise in

³²⁸ Cassiodorus, "De anima," CCSL 96, 571. See Schrder (1999: 150–3); Ferr (2002: 152–62).

³²⁹ See Bkef (1910: 70–8, 367).

³³⁰ Batthyny (see n. 315, xix–xxv).

³³¹ La Cute (1929: 599, 633); Luigi Lanfranchi, ed., *Benedettini in S. Giorgio Maggiore*, vol. 2, *Documenti 982–1159* (Venice: Comitato per la Pubblicazione delle Fonti Relative alla Storia di Venezia, 1968), 15–26; Damerini (1969: 8–16, 239–40); Ravagnani (1976: 11); Mazzucco (1983: 47); Marcon (1995: 13–28).

³³² See Szegf (1979a: 3–60).

Greek. One of these theories culminates in a striking conclusion: Gerard may have composed the Greek text of the foundation charter of the Greek nunnery of Veszprémvölgy, issued by King Stephen in 1018 and transcribed by King Coloman in 1109.³³³ Another branch of scholarship departed from the *Deliberatio* itself and attempted to explain Gerard's frequent references to Greek authorities such as Aristarchus, Aristotle, Chrysippus, Galen, Gorgias, Hermagoras, Hippocrates, Menander, Plato, Porphyry, Socrates, Thales and Zeno.³³⁴ Considering the vast philological research on the knowledge of Greek in the Latin West in the Middle Ages, two temporary observations are in order. First, Gerard may have known some Greek, but the scribe of the Munich manuscript may not, and this prompts the problems of interpretation, since he either misspelled the Latin versions of Greek words or left them out altogether. Second, more importantly, relevant scholarship has so far tried to decide whether or not Gerard knew Greek, instead of examining how much Greek he knew.³³⁵

Detailed textual analyses of the literary impacts on the *Deliberatio* have also shown that Gerard was familiar with the Scripture in versions that were different from the Vulgate Bible, through possible liturgical and patristic mediation, and that he occasionally quoted the same Biblical passage in two different versions. The latter could be a result of his method of quoting a Biblical passage by heart or indirectly from a patristic author who used a version other than the Vulgate.³³⁶ Similarly careful textual studies examined the influence of the writings of Pseudo-Dionysius Areopagita on the *Deliberatio*. The *Corpus Areopagiticum*, in the Latin translation by Hilduin and John Scottus Eriugena, and the commentaries of Maximus Confessor in the Latin translation by Anastasius Bibliothecarius, may have been the sources of Gerard's peculiar word choices such as *essentiatio*. The crafting of this term itself in Eriugena's works in turn shows Priscian's influence.³³⁷ Codicological inquiries also contributed to the study of Gerard's access to the works of Pseudo-Dionysius Areopagita. The Hungarian codicologist László Mezey proposed that Gerard may have had access to a part of the *De caelesti hierarchia* of Pseudo-Dionysius Areopagita in the Latin translation of John Scottus Eriugena in a mid-eleventh-century codex fragment (Budapest, University Library, U.Fr.I.m. 9). István Kapitánffy later proved, however, that the fragment was not

³³³ Juhász (1930b: 342–8); Érszegi (1988: 3–13); Vajay (1988: 20–4). See also Cessi (1964: 63–78); Day (1984: 379–88); Nicol (1988: 35–49); Cavallo (1993: 500–8).

³³⁴ See Fekete (1936: 8); Ivánka (1942a: 183–94); Ivánka (1942b: 221–38); Gyóni (1947: 42–9); Ivánka (1949: 22–36); Moravcsik (1956: 14–5, 25); Moravcsik (1967: 330–3); Székely (1967: 291–311); Timkó (1970: 727–32); Jakó (1976: 284–304); Balázs (1980: 283–4); Makk (1990: 11–25); Sólymos (2001: 48–60).

³³⁵ See Szegfű (1985b: 43–9). See also Laistner (1924: 177–87); Bischoff (1951: 27–55); Steinacker (1954: 28–66); Bischoff (1967b: 227–45); Prinz (1971: 1–15); Irigoin (1975: 425–46); Stotz (1993: 433–51).

³³⁶ See Déri (1991a: 387–9); Déri (1991b: 58–67); Török (1995: 203–9).

³³⁷ CCCM 49, 100: *essentiationis*. See Luhtala (2002: 77–87). See also Lehmann (1923: 81–97); Grabmann (1926: 449–68); Weisweiler (1952: 26–47); Jeauneau (1979: 5–50); Luscombe (1988: 133–52).

in Hungary in the Middle Ages, and that therefore Gerard could hardly have known that particular book from which the fragment originates.³³⁸

A lengthy enumeration of various heresies and the references to heretics in the *Deliberatio* raised the issue of Gerard's position regarding heresies. The abundant scholarship on the issue offered competing views about identifying the heretics Gerard was fighting: the representatives of popular heresies, the Cathars, a Byzantine faction of the Bogomils, or simply the proponents of pagan restoration in Hungary. Others suggested that the mentioning of heretics was a literary convention, an interpretive category, and therefore subject to literary rather than historical analysis.³³⁹ Passages of political relevance prompted discussion about Gerard's standing in political affairs. Scholars suggesting that Bishop Gerard and the bishops of Hungary took a stand against King Peter Orseolo argued that the mentioning of heretics in the *Deliberatio* provided a fictive background to criticize the royal exploitation of sacred ecclesiastical property for secular purposes, an act the bishops saw as a violation of orthodoxy, that is, heresy. While others suggested that Gerard took a stand against King Samuel Aba, there is an apparent consensus about the *Deliberatio* being a valuable historical source as well. However, the question of whether the authors of the legends of Saint Gerard knew the *Deliberatio* is still open. Although the direct influence of the work seems unlikely, Gerard's statements in the *Deliberatio* at least support the credibility of the later hagiographic accounts.³⁴⁰

Having reviewed the most acute philological and historical problems of interpretation, one must turn to the patristic sources of the *Deliberatio*, because Gerard's classical training can be evaluated better against his patristic background. Most of his quotations are of course Biblical, but the identification of his patristic sources is more problematic. The philologist János Horváth observed that Gerard's style cannot be explained with reference to his patristic sources.³⁴¹ While this is true, Gerard's appreciation of the Church Fathers reveals much about his patristic background. He often calls them *perfectores: diuini perfectores, nostros beatissimos perfectores, a perfectoribus*,

³³⁸ Mezey (1978: 65–90); Mezey (1979: 117–22); reviewed by Kapitánffy (1980: 529–36); Mezey (1983: 36–7); Mezey (1984: 213–25); Kapitánffy (1985: 133–7). See also Ivánka (1959: 205–22); Glück (1979: 259–75).

³³⁹ See Döllinger (1890: 61–2); Fehér (1927: 1–20); David (1939b: 756–61); da Milano (1947: 43–89); Borst (1953: 78–80); Ivánka (1955: 143–6); Rónay (1956: 471–4); Grundmann (1963: 129–64); Redl (1965: 349–66); Szegfű (1968: 501–16); Szegfű (1976: 91–6); Lambert (1977: 35, 347–8); Glück (1978: 189–96); Szegfű (1980: 11–9); Rónay (1980: 577–88); Rónay (1981: 514–25); Constantinescu (1982: 69–83); Stock (1983: 146); V. Kovács (1987: 11–60); Lubac (1993: 251); Klaniczay (1994: 195–6); Angelov (1997: 17–39); Fichtenau (1998: 30); Kristó (1998a: 485–96); Szegfű (1999c: 827–38); Moore (2000: 8–25).

³⁴⁰ See CFHH 2, 1027–8; Kristó (1965: 3–57); Kristó (1974: 56–7); Kosztolnyik (1976: 20–32); Kosztolnyik (1981: 46–55); Gerics (1982: 186–97, 299–313); Kristó (1984: 159–75); Kristó (1985: 170–80); Szegfű (1986: 11–21); Gerics (1986: 335–48); Gerics (1989: 431–63); Uzsoki (1997: 17–25); Vizkelety (2001c: 457–65).

³⁴¹ Horváth (1954: 112).

*sanctissimos perfectores, Diuinus noster beatissimus perfector.*³⁴² In a critical remark, Gerard wonders why the Church Fathers never commented extensively on the *hymnus trium puerorum* in the Book of Daniel: *Miror, quur sanctissimi perfectores et ad hoc operam dantes ut queque obscurissima penetrarent, huius himni misterium adgressi non sunt.*³⁴³ The term *perfector* is classical (Cicero, *De oratore* 1.60.257: *perfectorem dicendi esse ac magistrum*) but it frequently appears in patristic, Carolingian and medieval Latin with a different meaning. Interestingly, Gerard's use of the word is closer to its Ciceronian sense: it usually refers to the Lord in patristic and Carolingian authors such as Saint Jerome (*Sicut in bonis operibus perfector est Deus*, quoted by Bede the Venerable), Saint Augustine (*nullius praecepti contemptor, sed utriusque perfector*) and Hrabanus Maurus (*unde Dominus perfector totius operis sui*). Besides, Gerard's usage closely resembles that of John Scottus Eriugena in his translation of the *De caelesti hierarchia* of Pseudo-Dionysius Areopagita: *diuinus noster sanctus perfector*.³⁴⁴ Gerard also calls the Church Fathers *potentes in theoricis, potentes, theologi, diuini perfectores, hiromistas and doctores*—and also writes thus: *Igitur stelle celi doctores tropologice ecclesie admittendi.*³⁴⁵ His use of the term *disputatores... diuinos* is classical (Cicero, *De officiis* 1.1.3: *disputator subtilis, orator parum uehemens*).³⁴⁶ The expression *circa sensum theosophorum* again resembles John Scottus Eriugena, who uses the term *theosophi* many times.³⁴⁷

While his reference to Saint Ambrose seems standard (*Sacerdos Christi Ambrosius in nostrum adiutorium*), Gerard adds another term to his reference to Bede the Venerable, calling him *diuinus sacerdos et terapeuta optimus Beda*. The term *therapeuta* occurs earlier in John Scottus Eriugena's translation of the *De ecclesiastica hierarchia* by Pseudo-Dionysius Areopagita: *Inde diuini duces nostri nominationibus eos sacris dignati sunt, alii quidem therapeutas, alii autem monachos nominantes.*³⁴⁸ Gerard uses the same term when introducing a quotation from Cassiodorus: *peritus ad terapeutas de ipsis incomprehensibili Cassiodorus omni suauius expresserit nectare.* (The sentence otherwise echoes Paul the Deacon: *omni nectare suauius.*)³⁴⁹ Elsewhere, he praises the Church Fathers in the following way: *Dionisius et Hireneus, Ignatius et*

³⁴² CCCM 49, 6, 11, 37, 39, 48, 162.

³⁴³ CCCM 49, 38.

³⁴⁴ Saint Jerome, "Adversus Jovinianum," *PL* 23, 286; Bede the Venerable, "In epistolas septem catholicas," *CCSL* 121, 188; Saint Augustine, "Sermones," *PL* 38, 804; Hrabanus Maurus, "De universo," *PL* 111, 491; John Scottus Eriugena, "Versio operum sancti Dionysii Areopagitae: De caelesti hierarchia," *PL* 122, 1049.

³⁴⁵ CCCM 49, 1, 2, 22, 81, 91, 144.

³⁴⁶ CCCM 49, 20.

³⁴⁷ CCCM 49, 20; John Scottus Eriugena, "Expositiones in Ierarchiam coelestem," CCCM 31, 50 and passim.

³⁴⁸ CCCM 49, 34, 172; John Scottus Eriugena, "Versio operum sancti Dionysii Areopagitae: De ecclesiastica hierarchia," *PL* 122, 1102.

³⁴⁹ CCCM 49, 148; Paul the Deacon, "Historia Langobardorum," *MGH: Scriptores rerum Langobardicarum et Italicarum*, 165.

Policarpus, totius philosophiae uiri sanctissimi, illuminatione perfecti... alii multi imbuti. Similar wordings appear in Macrobius (*Saturnalia* 1.7.6: *sancti illius praecepti philosophiae*) but especially in Gregory the Great (*perfecte inluminatus*), John Scottus Eriugena (*perfectiorem illuminationem*) and Remigius of Auxerre (*perfecte illuminati sicut apostoli*).³⁵⁰ Finally, Gerard also provides another enumeration: *sollertissimi uiri Eusebius Cesariensis episcopus... Appollenaris... Methodius... splendor doctorum Hieronimus et lux inter rutilantissima celi sidera clarius omnibus lucens*. Not only does a part of the sentence echo a hexameter by Benedict of Aniane (*Expauere quidem rutilantia sidera caeli*), but it also occurs later in the legend of King Saint Ladislas of Hungary (*Eadem etiam hora diei quasi sexta rutilans stella preclari fulgoris stetit supra*).³⁵¹

The terms that Gerard uses to refer to the Church Fathers are transitional between the ecclesiastical and the secular vocabulary of learning. They nevertheless show that he also relied heavily upon the utmost authorities of his age: Saint Ambrose, Saint Jerome, Saint Augustine, Cassiodorus, Gregory the Great, Isidore of Seville, Bede the Venerable and Hrabanus Maurus. Compared to his contemporaries, Gerard's dependence on these authorities is in no way unique.³⁵² Silagi's critical edition highlighted numerous references to patristic authors, such as Saint Ambrose,³⁵³ Saint Jerome,³⁵⁴ Saint Augustine,³⁵⁵ Gregory the Great,³⁵⁶ Bede the Venerable³⁵⁷ and Hrabanus Maurus.³⁵⁸ The textual parallels between Hrabanus Maurus and Gerard show either that the *Deliberatio* contains direct borrowings or that the two authors used the same sources. Gerard also adapts a lengthy excerpt from the *Institutiones* of Cassiodorus, inserting only a short phrase of his own, *ut doctus es*, in order to adjust the long quotation to his own conversational style (Cassiodorus, *Institutiones* 1.16.2: *Istas siquidem litteras non ratio humana repperit* – Gerard: *Istas sic quidem litteras, ut doctus es, non ratio humana repperit*).³⁵⁹

As András Bodor has convincingly pointed out, however, Gerard's most important

³⁵⁰ CCCM 49, 35; Gregory the Great, "In librum primum Regum expositionum libri VI," CCSL 144, 563; John Scottus Eriugena, "Versio operum sancti Dionysii Areopagite: De ecclesiastica hierarchia," PL 122, 1112; Remigius of Auxerre, "Enarrationes in Psalms," PL 131, 808.

³⁵¹ CCCM 49, 50; Benedict of Aniane, "Concordia regularum," CCCM 168A, 5; "Legenda sancti Ladislai regis," SRH 2, 526.

³⁵² See Horváth (1954: 110–5); Silagi (1967: 51–62); reviewed by Jacobsen (1967: 282–3); Redl (1968: 384–6); Kosztolnyik (1969b: 376–86); Coyle (1995: 45–64).

³⁵³ CCCM 49, 172.

³⁵⁴ CCCM 49, 1, 14, 41, 47, 50, 60, 64, 65, 74, 96, 97, 133, 145, 155.

³⁵⁵ CCCM 49, 43, 87, 133.

³⁵⁶ CCCM 49, 174.

³⁵⁷ CCCM 49, 31, 32, 33, 52, 55, 99, 101.

³⁵⁸ CCCM 49, 9, 99, 101, 127, 145.

³⁵⁹ CCCM 49, 148–50. See Jones (1945: 433–42). See also Nemerkényi (2002: 255–61).

source was Isidore of Seville, especially his *Etymologiae*.³⁶⁰ The extensive manuscript tradition of the *Etymologiae* shows that it played an important role in the education of the tenth century. Gerard's numerous references to the work suggest that one of its copies or some extensive excerpt was present in the monastic library of Venice, the cathedral library of Csand, or in his private library.³⁶¹ As Bernhard Bischoff observed, Isidore of Seville was one of the most eminent authorities to mediate classical antiquity to the Middle Ages, partly through the filter of the seven liberal arts.³⁶² Refuting a wandering scholar, Gerard mentions the liberal arts in this context: *Dicat mihi, qui uult, quia multa legi, multa cucurri. In Spania fui doctus, in Britannia eruditus, in Scotia detritus, in Hybernia studui, omnes liberales disciplinas commendaui memoriae, ideo nil lectionis me effugere potest.* Regardless of whether Gerard attributes it to somebody else or to himself, this ambitious itinerary is an obvious exaggeration in order to claim scholarly experience. This claim is emphasized by stylistic devices too: the frequent repetition of the endings *-ia* and *-tus* in the most important words (*Spania, Britannia, Scotia, Hybernia – doctus, eruditus, detritus*). It is peculiar that Gerard easily contradicts his apparent monastic rigor when his expertise in the liberal arts is at stake. The source of enumerating these geographical names could be Isidore's *Etymologiae* 14.6.1–6. It is also possible, however, that the place names stand for representative authors from their respective region: that is, if someone claims *in Spania fui doctus*, for instance, it could mean that the person studied the works of Isidore of Seville, all the more likely because it was common knowledge in the Middle Ages that Isidore was from Spain, as is evident from the recommendation by Notker Balbulus: *Libri Isidori Hispaniensis episcopi, Etymologiarum nomine titulati, omnimoda te perficiunt scientia. Item Sententiarum eius utilissimus liber occurrit*.³⁶³ Gerard's use of the expression *liberales disciplinas* fits into a lasting literary tradition originating in the Latin classics. Exactly the same expression occurs in classical authors such as Velleius Paterculus (*Historia Romana* 2.59.4), Seneca (*Dialogi* 10.7.3), Quintilian (*Institutio oratoria* 12.7.8), Suetonius (*Caligula* 53.1), Gellius (*Noctes Atticae* 7.17.1) and Ammianus Marcellinus (*Res gestae* 29.1.41), patristic authors such as Tertullian, Lactantius, Saint Augustine and Isidore of Seville (*Etymologiae* 4.13.1), and Carolingian authors such as Hrabanus Maurus and John Scottus Eriugena. Similar expressions figure in the legends of Saint Gerard as well: the *Legenda minor* (*regis amici liberalibus artibus*

³⁶⁰ *CCCM* 49, 6, 9, 14, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 28, 33, 34, 36, 40, 42, 43, 49, 50, 61, 63, 67, 77, 81, 82, 83, 87, 88, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 99, 109, 112, 114, 115, 116, 128, 129, 137, 141, 144, 158, 166, 170, 171, 174, 176, 177. See Bodor (1943: 173–227); Benyik (2001: 121–6).

³⁶¹ See Szegf (1979a: 3–60). See also Beeson (1913: 1–131); Wallach (1955: 18–22); Bezold (1962: 6–7, 90); Fontaine (1966: 108–27); Reydellet (1966: 383–437); Marshall (1983: 194–6); Schindel (1988: 587–605); Contreni (1992b: XII.379–87).

³⁶² Bischoff (1966c: 171–94).

³⁶³ *CCCM* 49, 152; Notker Balbulus, “De interpretibus divinarum scripturarum,” *PL* 131, 998. See also Daz y Daz (1976: 141–201).

imbuti) and the *Legenda maior* (*in scientiis liberalibus... omniumque liberalium scientiarum artibus instructi; pro adipiscendo fructu scientie artis liberalis; amici regis, liberalibus studiis eruditii*).³⁶⁴

Further evidence proves that the *Deliberatio* was influenced by the classical tradition in general and the seven liberal arts in particular. Since the available information on Gerard's actual libraries is less than fragmentary, the starting point in the study of the seven liberal arts in the *Deliberatio* is the examination of the author's attitude towards literacy and illiteracy. He argues that the disciples of Christ, illiterate fishermen, *omnem praecesserunt philosophiam inliterate doctissimi sine litteris*. Additional statements of the same attitude include the following: *Denique piscatores ex illis legimus potius quam litteratos. Ille autem, qui accepit potestatem celi et dominationem in omni saeculo post Deum, potius, ut ita dicam sapiebat instrumenta pisces capiendi quam legere; Iste nuper in naui sine litteris, nunc inter doctissimos disputabat de interioribus Dei; Veniat uero ad prophetas, qui non litterati sed dominici rustici fuerunt. Disputet cum Petro et suis, qui non oratores sed piscatores extiterunt.* The opposition of the terms *piscator* and *rusticus* with the terms *litteratus* and *orator* already appears in Quintilian (*Institutio oratoria* 2.21.16: *rusticus inlitteratusque*, and 7.1.42: *petit rusticus partem bonorum, orator totum uindicat sibi*) and Saint Jerome (*piscatores et illitterati mittuntur ad praedicandum, ne fides credentium non uirtute Dei, sed eloquentia atque doctrina fieri putaretur*, quoted by Bede the Venerable), and later in Bruno of Segni (*Sapientiores sunt piscatores et rustici Deum timentes, quam episcopi et sacerdotes ualde litterati, salutem negligentes*).³⁶⁵ The expression *uerba, licet rusticana* also has classical and patristic antecedents, such as Tibullus (*Elegiae* 2.1.52: *Cantauit certo rustica uerba pede*, and 2.3.4: *Verbaque aratoris rustica discit Amor*), Fronto (*Ad M. Caesarem et inuicem* 4.3.2: *in uerbis rusticani*) and Saint Jerome (*Venerationi mihi semper fuit non uerbosa rusticitas, sed sancta simplicitas*).³⁶⁶ Even Christ preferred fishing to reading, and Gerard sees no difference between an illiterate and a literate man, since neither of them can read and decipher the sealed book of the Apocalypse: *Et erunt sermones libri istius quasi uerba uoluminis signati. Quodsi dederint homini nescienti litteras, dicentes ei: Lege, respondebit: Nescio litteras. Sin autem dederint illud homini scienti litteras, et dixerint: Lege librum, respondebit: Non possum legere, quia signatus est.* Based on Isaiah 29.11–2, this passage is a verbatim quotation

³⁶⁴ Tertullian, “*De anima*,” CCSL 2, 834; Lactantius, “*Diuinae institutiones*,” CSEL 19, 79; Saint Augustine, “*De doctrina Christiana*,” CCSL 32, 74; Hrabanus Maurus, “*De computo*,” CCCM 44, 235; John Scottus Eriugena, “*Expositiones in Ierarchiam coelestem*,” CCCM 31, 16; “*Legenda sancti Gerhardi episcopi*,” SRH 2, 477, 483, 494, 500.

³⁶⁵ CCCM 49, 12, 47, 123, 152; Saint Jerome, “*Commentaria in evangelium Matthaei*,” PL 26, 33; Bede the Venerable, “*In Marci evangelium expositio*,” CCSL 120, 446; Bruno of Segni, “*Sententiae*,” PL 165, 1047. See Grundmann (1958: 1–65).

³⁶⁶ CCCM 49, 132; Saint Jerome, “*Epistulae*,” CSEL 54, 525.

from Saint Jerome, also adapted by Isidore of Seville.³⁶⁷ Gerard uses the term *idiota* in a similar context: *Talis quidem est istiusmodi hebrietas, que idiotas omnium misteriorum fecit capaces*. This term is also classical: it occurs already in Cicero (*Pro Sestio* 51.110: *postea quam rem paternam ab idiotarum diuiniis ad philosophorum regulam perduxit, Graeculum se atque otiosum putari uoluit, studio litterarum se subito dedidit*) and Seneca (*Controversiae* 7.pr.5: *Idiotismos est inter oratorias uirtutes res quae raro procedit*), as well as in Carolingian authors treating grammatical subjects, such as Alcuin (*Idiota Graecum nomen est, Latine imperitus*).³⁶⁸

On the other hand, Gerard places the Biblical authors, the prophet Jeremiah, Saint Paul and Saint John, for instance, above the mortal philosophers: *unum celestium philosophorum* (about the author of the Apocalypse); *Paulus, praeclarissimus orbis doctor; sapienter disputabat Paulus, fons et manatio doctrinarum; Hieremias, diuinus per omnia uir, refutauit Platonem et sua; omnem deliberationem mortalium philosophorum transcenderunt, omnibus acutiores atque disertiores inuenti sunt; Paulus et omnes, qui sue scole fuerunt*. Gerard's expression *caelestis philosophia*, a reference to Christian doctrine in opposition to pagan philosophy, is part of the patristic and Carolingian legacy: it appears in the same context in Cassiodorus (*Paulus igitur in Ariopagi medio constitutus caelestis philosophiae mella fundebat; caelestis philosophiae uerus ordo*), Bede the Venerable (*optimam partem philosophiae caelestis*) and Hrabanus Maurus (*coelestis philosophiae doctrina*).³⁶⁹

It is especially significant, however, that Gerard refers to pagan authors and secular masters a lot more frequently than to the Church Fathers, and that he employs the same terminology to refer to the ancient philosophers and their modern—that is, eleventh-century—followers. He calls them *stulti sapientes*: *Ergo multi multa scientes quamquam participantes inscii facti sunt, ut stulti sapientes, quorum numerus a Spiritu sancto perhibetur infinitus; Omnis contra Deum insurgit solius confidens in homine, ut stultus, sic sapiens, ut indoctus, sic litteratus, ut pauper sic diues, ut seruus sic dominus*. The contrasting of the words *stultus* and *sapiens* shows Biblical influence (Ecclesiastes 1.15: *et stultorum infinitus est numerus*, and also Proverbs 10.1, 10.8, Ecclesiastes 2.19, Romans 1.22, 1 Corinthians 1.20 and 1 Corinthians 3.18) but it also plays an important role in classical Latin authors such as Cicero (*De oratore* 1.51.221: *neque uult ita sapiens inter stultos uideri*), Quintilian (*Institutio oratoria* 5.10.74: *qui est sapiens, stultus non est*) and Martianus Capella (*De nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii*

³⁶⁷ CCCC 49, 156; Saint Jerome, "Commentariorum in Hiezechiele libri XIV," CCSL 75, 644; Isidore of Seville, "De fide catholica," PL 83, 498.

³⁶⁸ Alcuin, "Orthographia," GL 7, 304. See Schneider (1981: 132–57).

³⁶⁹ CCCC 49, 20, 23, 35, 41, 48, 62; Cassiodorus, "Complexiones in Actus apostolorum," PL 70, 1396; Cassiodorus, "Expositio Psalmorum," CCSL 97, 55; Bede the Venerable, "In Lucae evangelium expositio," CCSL 120, 231; Hrabanus Maurus, "De videndo Deum, de puritate cordis et modo poenitentiae," PL 112, 1307.

4.385: *siquidem stultitia sapientiae ita contraria est, ut non eiusdem sapientiae stultitia sit, aut ad illam sit stultitia*), as well as in patristic authors such as Saint Augustine (*stulti sapientes*).³⁷⁰ Another parallel expression of Gerard's is *stulti philosophi: magis adherent stultorum neniis philosophorum dictisque gentilium, quam eloquis prophetarum et euangelistarum*. It also reflects patristic and Carolingian authors such as Saint Jerome (*non secundum stultos philosophos et quosdam hereticos*), Bede the Venerable (*nulla philosophiae saecularis secta, quae ab aliis aeque stultae philosophiae sectis mendacii redarguatur*) and Hrabanus Maurus (*non secundum stultos philosophos et quosdam haereticos*).³⁷¹

Pagan authors are not even worthy of the name of philosopher in Gerard's view: *Olim multi conati sunt facere, sed non potuerunt, et philosophi dicebantur. Omnes errauerunt iuxta diuinum dictum et locuti sunt falsa. Si percurrere templo mundi philosophorum nenia, dies me inprimis deficient*. While his indignation (*et philosophi dicebantur*) recalls that of Tertullian (*Quot denique philosophi dicuntur nec tamen legem philosophiae adimplent?*), his contemptuous judgment about secular philosophy (*philosophorum nenia*) is similar to that of Ambrosius Autpertus (*non philosophorum nenia, non hereticorum uersutias*).³⁷² Pagan philosophy is also *inanis* (*circa inanem philosophiam*). The same description of philosophy figures in patristic, Carolingian and medieval authors such as Lactantius (*inanem philosophiam*), Cassianus (*ad inanem philosophiam mundi huius*), Leo the Great (*per inanes philosophias*), Bede the Venerable (*uitam beatam inanis philosophiae studiis inquirunt*) and John Scottus Eriugena (*Sed si quaeris, qualis differentia sit inter carnis prudentiam et inanem philosophiam*), and later Peter Damian (*Habes, qui per uanam eloquentiam et inanem philosophiam sciunt in superbiae cornibus arroganter extollere*).³⁷³ Gerard discredits the statements of pagan authors in rather harsh ways: *in sterquilinio gentilium promulgationum; illorum dicta ut stercora arbitremur*. This vocabulary invokes Philippians 3.8 (*et arbitror ut stercora*), a passage also appearing in Saint Jerome (*stercora arbitratum*, quoted by Bede the Venerable). Sedulius Scottus provided an exegesis of the Pauline passage: *"Et arbitror ut stercora." Stercra sunt quae eiiciunt homines uel cetera animalia ex utero, cum quod forte et solidum est ad confirmandum et satiandum corpus remanet intus, sic littera legis eiicitur, et sensus spiritualis ad cibum animae in corpore eccle-*

³⁷⁰ CCCM 49, 28, 119; Saint Augustine, "In Ioannis evangelium tractatus," *PL* 35, 1936.

³⁷¹ CCCM 49, 66; Saint Jerome, "Commentariorum in Matheum libri IV," *CCSL* 77, 81; Bede the Venerable, "Hexaemeron," *PL* 91, 130; Hrabanus Maurus, "Commentaria in Matthaeum," *PL* 107, 912.

³⁷² CCCM 49, 165; Tertullian, "Ad nationes," *CCSL* 1, 16; Ambrosius Autpertus, "Expositio in Apocalypsin," *CCCM* 27, 394.

³⁷³ CCCM 49, 26; Lactantius, "Diuinae institutiones," *CSEL* 19, 667; Cassianus, "Conlationes," *CSEL* 13, 63; Leo the Great, "Sermones inediti," *PL* 56, 1146; Bede the Venerable, "In Lucae evangelium expositio," *CCSL* 120, 289; John Scottus Eriugena, "De divisione naturae," *PL* 122, 850; Peter Damian, "Vita sancti Romualdi," *PL* 144, 953.

siae remanet. The expression later also occurs in Peter Damian again (*et arbitror uelut stercora*).³⁷⁴

Gerard's vocabulary regarding pagan authors is even more diverse than that. He applies further terms to refer to the teaching of the mortal philosophers: *instabilis mortalium philosophia*; *ignorantia promerente et errore mortalium*; *mortalium dicta*.³⁷⁵ He also calls them *recitatores*: *Mortalibus sic quidem recitatoribus mortalia inpendio uidentur dulcia esse dicta, in quibus pene omnes, qui futtilem scienciam appetunt, in uanissimis deliberationibus stabilitam desudare delectant, quemadmodum olim multi fecerunt*. The term *recitator* is clearly classical (Cicero, *De inuentione* 2.47.139: *recitatores*, Horace, *Ars poetica* 474: *recitator acerbus*, and Seneca, *Epistulae morales ad Lucilium* 95.2: *Recitator*). What makes Gerard's word choice interesting is that he uses the noun in its classical meaning, although it means prophet in a Christian interpretation, as the etymology by Ratherius of Verona makes clear: *quandiu prophetia recitabitur, tandiu recitator propheta dicetur*.³⁷⁶ More traditional terms also appear in the *Deliberatio* to denote pagan philosophers (*quidam philosophorum; a philosophis; apud gentiles philosophos*).³⁷⁷ Gerard's descriptions of secular philosophy and its proponents (*philosophi uero saeculi; philosophia saeculi nesciente suaque ignorantie nobilitate; mundi philosophorum superuacua scrutaretur inperitia*) sometimes reflect the traditional patristic vocabulary, for instance that of Saint Jerome (*apud philosophos saeculi*).³⁷⁸ More often, however, Gerard develops a wide array of expressions that usually stand unparalleled: such expressions include the following: *mundanos disputatores; scientiatos; saeculariter litterati... magistri nimirum erroris et amatores mendatii; lectores carnales*.³⁷⁹ Nevertheless, his use of the diminutive *litteratuli* echoes Saint Jerome again (*et uideris tibi litteratulus*, quoted by Sedulius Scottus).³⁸⁰

In sum, Gerard's attitude towards the pagan authors and secular masters is similar to that of his contemporary Rodulfus Glaber, who reported in his *Historiae* that the heretical grammarian Vilgard of Ravenna adored demons in the likeness of the poets Vergil, Horace and Juvenal: *Quidam igitur Vilgardus dictus, studio artis gramatice magis assiduus quam frequens, sicut Italicis mos semper fuit artes negligere ceteras, illam sectari. Is enim cum ex scientia sue artis cepisset inflatus superbia stultior appa-*

³⁷⁴ CCCM 49, 13, 28; Saint Jerome, “Epistulae,” CSEL 55, 385; Bede the Venerable, “In Samuelem prophetam allegorica expositio,” PL 91, 511; Sedulius Scottus, “Collectanea in omnes beati Pauli epistolas,” PL 103, 215; Kurt Reindel, ed., MGH: *Die Briefe der deutschen Kaiserzeit*, vol. 4.2, *Die Briefe des Petrus Damiani* (Munich: MGH, 1988), 198.

³⁷⁵ CCCM 49, 26, 28, 88.

³⁷⁶ CCCM 49, 26; Ratherius of Verona, “Praeloquia,” CCCM 46A, 88.

³⁷⁷ CCCM 49, 62, 88, 105.

³⁷⁸ CCCM 49, 28, 48, 85; Saint Jerome, “Commentariorum in Esaiam libri,” CCSL 73, 151.

³⁷⁹ CCCM 49, 20, 85, 103, 170.

³⁸⁰ CCCM 49, 156; Saint Jerome, “Contra Rufinum,” CCSL 79, 30; Sedulius Scottus, “Collectaneum miscellaneum,” CCCM 67, 22. See Petersen (1917: 49–67).

*rere, quadam nocte assumpsere demones poetarum species Virgilii et Oratii atque Iuuenalis, apparentesque illi fallaces retulerunt grates quoniam suorum dicta uoluminum carius amplectens exercebat, seque illorum posteritatis felicem esse preconem; promiserunt ei insuper sue glorie postmodum fore participem.*³⁸¹ In other words, even though Gerard routinely condemns the pagan authors, those demons are still there in his work. Those same demons are also there whenever Gerard of Csand directly touches upon the seven liberal arts in his *Deliberatio*. The concept and definition of the liberal arts originate in classical antiquity. Explicit references to them appear in Cicero (*De officiis* 1.42.150: *Inliberales autem et sordidi quaestus mercennariorum omnium, quorum opera, non quorum artes emuntur*, and *De oratore* 3.32.127: *nec solum has artis, quibus liberales doctrinae atque ingenuae continerentur, geometriam, musicam, litterarum cognitionem et poetarum*) and Seneca (*Epistulae morales ad Lucilium* 88.23: *hae artes, quas enkuklious Graeci, nostri autem liberales uocant*).³⁸²

Already the dedication in the title of Gerard’s work (*Deliberatio Gerardi Morese-nae aecclesiae episcopi Supra Hymnum Trium puerorum Ad Isingrimum Liberalem*), written in red capital letters at the top of the first folio in the Munich codex, suggests that the real or imaginary audience of Gerard had some knowledge of the liberal arts. This dedication resembles that of Seneca’s *De beneficiis: ad Aebutium liberalem de beneficiis*. Although Gerard’s usually indirect and unsystematic references to the arts do not represent the erudition of the learned classical, late antique and early medieval treatises, he certainly had some knowledge about the ancient Greek and Roman authorities on the subject. At some point, for instance, he enumerates the Greek philosophical schools: Academic, Peripatetic, Platonic, Stoic and Gymnosophist.³⁸³ He refers to Zeno in the following way: *In Zenone autem, Stoicorum principe*. This Latin epithet of Zeno stems from Cicero (*Lucullus* 42.131: *Zeno statuit finem esse bonorum, qui inuentor et princeps Stoicorum fuit*) and reached Gerard via patristic and Carolingian mediation: Lactantius (*Zenoni obtrectaret principi Stoicorum*), Saint Jerome (*apud Zenonem Stoicorum principem*), Saint Augustine (*Zenonem principem Stoicorum*) and Hrabanus Maurus (*Zeno princeps Stoicorum*).³⁸⁴ On the other hand, Gerard’s transcendent purposes always take precedence over his earthly audience, and his overall view about the ancient pagan philosophers culminates in the comparison of the teaching of Plato to that of the Gospel: *quibus dictis* (Matthew 15.19) *Plato philoso-*

³⁸¹ John France, ed., *Rodulfi Glabri Historiarum libri quinque* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989), 92. See also Ward (1988: 57–118); Landes (2000: 26–43).

³⁸² See Baebler (1885a: 29). See also Meier (1886–1887); Parker (1890: 417–61); Abelson (1906); Lutz (1956a: 32–49); De Rijk (1965: 24–93); Gibson (1993: I.121–6); Cristante (1997: 57–66); Hadot (1997: 17–34).

³⁸³ CCCC 49, 49. See Jeauneau (1975: 15–54).

³⁸⁴ CCCC 49, 41; Lactantius, “*Diuinae institutiones*,” CSEL 19, 188; Saint Jerome, “*Commentariorum in Daniele libri III*,” CCSL 75A, 778; Saint Augustine, “*Contra Academicos*,” CCSL 29, 58; Hrabanus Maurus, “*Expositio super Jeremiam prophetam*,” PL 111, 813.

phus comprobatur stultissimus dicens humana cogitata non de corde sed de cerebro manare. The tradition of pejorative rhetorical references to Plato influenced Gerard through patristic and early medieval mediation again: similar statements concerning Plato can be found in Saint Jerome (*tunc ignitus Iuppiter; adducetur et cum suis stultus Plato discipulis*) and Bede the Venerable (*quia stultum profecto est iuxta Platonem et Diogenem et quosdam alios philosophos*).³⁸⁵

One must acknowledge that Gerard's acquaintance with classical learning is somewhat superficial. His adaptations from and possible allusions to ancient Roman authors are secondhand quotations, probably from the *Etymologiae* of Isidore of Seville. While Gerard calls the Church Fathers, probably Saint Jerome for instance, *unus ex nostris*, he never quotes classical authors by name. He uses formulae instead: *aput poetas* in general, *unus autem uestrum* to refer to Lucretius, and *unus autem ex uestris* to refer to Terence. Considering his frequent use of the second person and the dedication of the work (*ad Isingrimum liberalem*), it is quite possible that the second person plural pronouns in these cases (*uestrum, ex uestris*) address the *liberales* such as Isingrim.³⁸⁶

The context of Gerard's quotation from Lucretius is the following: *Unus autem uestrum ait celum quod dicitur aer. Psalmographus nobilissimus noster: Volucres caeli, ait, cum euidentissimum sit uolucres in aere uolare.* The passage of Lucretius (*De rerum natura* 4.131–2: *sunt etiam quae sponte sua cognuntur et ipsa/ constituuntur in hoc caelo, qui dicitur “aer”*) is adapted in Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiae* 13.4.3: *Lucretius: Caelum, quod dicitur aer. Et psalmus: “Volucres caeli” appellat, cum manifestum sit aues in aere uolare.* The context in the *Deliberatio* makes it clear that Gerard quotes Lucretius indirectly through Isidore. He must have also known, however, that the quote comes originally from Lucretius, since the Isidorian passage explicitly mentions the name of the Roman poet. The same line from Lucretius became a popular quote as early as classical antiquity and the late antique grammatical tradition: besides Cicero (*De natura deorum* 2.36.91), it appears several times in Servius as well (*In Vergilii Aeneidos libros* 1.58, 5.18, 9.20, 10.899). Saint Augustine later also alludes to the same line: *et iste aer caelum dicitur.* Although Saint Jerome provided a short account of his literary activity (*Titus Lucretius poeta nascitur, qui postea amatorio populo in furorem uersus, cum aliquot libros per interualla insaniae conscripsisset, quos postea Cicero emendauit, propria se manu interfecit, anno aetatis xlii*), Lucretius was not extremely popular in the Middle Ages. Quotations from his *De rerum natura* occasionally appear in Priscian and Isidore, and the patristic and Carolingian authors usually had secondhand knowledge of the work. Adapting the quote from Isidore's *Ety-*

³⁸⁵ *CCCM* 49, 96; Saint Jerome, “Epistulae,” *CSEL* 54, 61; Bede the Venerable, “Homeliarum evangelii libri II,” *CCSL* 122, 88. See Marenbon (2002: 69, 71).

³⁸⁶ *CCCM* 49, 20, 23, 80, 158.

mologiae to his *Deliberatio*, therefore, Gerard fits into the tradition of indirect quotations from Lucretius.³⁸⁷

Gerard quotes Terence in the following way: *Unus autem ex uestris: Veritas, ait, odium parit.* The passage of Terence (*Andria* 67–8: *sapienter uitam instituit; namque hoc tempore/ obsequium amicos, ueritas odium parit*) is also adapted several times in Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiae* 1.36.3, 2.9.11, 2.11.1 and 2.21.14 (*Obsequium amicos, ueritas odium parit*). This famous quote appears in classical Latin authors such as Cicero (*Laelius de amicitia* 24.89: *Sed nescio quo modo uerum est, quod in Andria familiaris meus dicit: "Obsequium amicos, ueritas odium parit"*) and Quintilian (*Institutio oratoria* 8.5.4), as well as in late antique poets such as Ausonius (*Ludus septem sapientium* 191: *dixisse nollem: ueritas odium parit*) and grammarians such as Priscian. Gerard features the quote from Terence in accordance with the patristic tradition that seems to have appreciated this passage. Lactantius quotes it and adds that it looks as though the poet Terence was inspired by the Holy Spirit: *Utrumne ueritas odium parit, ut ait poeta quasi diuini spiritu instinctus.* Saint Jerome also quotes the *comicus*: *Et comicus: "Obsequium amicos, ueritas odium parit."* Using the same quote from Terence elsewhere, Saint Jerome compares Saint Paul's style (*Galatians* 4.16: *ergo inimicus uobis factus sum uerum dicens uobis*) to that of Terence: *Eleganter autem sententiam terminauit, dicens: "Ergo inimicus uobis factus sum ueritatem dicens uobis?" ut ostenderet initia praedicationis, non tam ueritatem fuisse, quam umbram et imaginem ueritatis. Similis est huic sententia nobilis apud Romanos poetae: Obsequium amicos, ueritas odium parit* (Jerome's comparison is later quoted by Hrabanus Maurus). In comparison to Proverbs 27.6 (*meliora sunt uulnera diligentis quam fraudulenta odientis oscula*), Saint Jerome quotes this *uulgare proverbiu*m again: *Nescio enim, utrum Christianae amicitiae putandae sint, in quibus magis ualet uulgare proverbiu*m: *"Obsequium amicos, ueritas odium parit," quam Ecclesiasticum: "Fideliora sunt uulnera amici quam uoluntaria oscula inimici"* (Jerome's sentence is quoted verbatim by Saint Augustine). Alluding to the Gospel (*John* 8.40: *nunc autem quaeritis me interficere hominem qui ueritatem uobis locutus sum quam audiui a Deo*), Saint Augustine uses the quote from Terence in his *Confessiones* as well: *Cur autem ueritas parit odium et inimicus eis factus est homo tuus uerum praedicans.*³⁸⁸

This complex classical and patristic tradition of quoting this particular passage

³⁸⁷ CCCM 49, 23; Saint Augustine, "Locutionum in Heptateuchum libri VII," CCSL 33, 452; Saint Jerome, "Interpretatio chronicae Eusebii Pamphili," PL 27, 523–6. See Jessen (1870: 236–8); Philippe (1896: 125–62); Brunhölzl (1962: 97–104); Ruebel (1984: 213–22).

³⁸⁸ CCCM 49, 158; Priscian, "Praeexercitamina," GL 3, 433; Lactantius, "Diuinae institutiones," CSEL 19, 425; Saint Jerome, "Dialogus adversus Pelagianos," CCSL 80, 35; Saint Jerome, "Commentarii in epistolam ad Galatas," PL 26, 382; Hrabanus Maurus, "Enarrationes in epistolas Pauli," PL 112, 325; Saint Jerome, "Epistulæ," CSEL 55, 418–9; Saint Augustine, "Epistulæ," CSEL 34.2, 382; Saint Augustine, "Confessiones," CCSL 27, 173. See also Luebeck (1872: 111).

from Terence prompted the use of the quote in the early medieval authorities that seem to have been Gerard's immediate sources: Cassiodorus and, more importantly, Isidore of Seville. Although for a purpose completely different from that of Gerard, Cassiodorus quotes the passage where he treats rhetoric in his *Institutiones* 2.2.13: *sententiale est quod sententia generalis adicit, ut apud Terentium: Obsequium amicos, ueritas odium parit* (quoted by Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiae* 2.9.11). Gerard, however, probably quotes the passage from Isidore's *Etymologiae*, where it figures four times: 1.36.3 (*De schematibus*): *Zeugma est clausula, cum plures sensus uno uerbo clauduntur, quae fit tribus modis. Nam aut in primo, aut in postremo, aut in medio id uerbum ponitur, quod sententias iungit... In postremo, ut: "Namque hoc tempore/ obsequium amicos, ueritas odium parit"*; 2.9.11 (*De syllogismis* from Cassiodorus, *Institutiones* 2.2.13): *Otentabile est, quod certa rei demonstratione constringit, sicut Cicero in Catilina* (Cicero, *In Catilinam* 1.1.2): *"Hic tamen uiuit, imo etiam in senatum uenit."* *Sententiale est, quod sententia generalis adducit, ut apud Terentium: "Obsequium amicos, ueritas odium parit"*; 2.11.1 (*De sententia*): *Sententia est dictum inpersonale, ut: "Obsequium amicos, ueritas odium parit"*; 2.21.14 (*De figuris uerborum et sententiarum*): *Sententia est dictum inpersonale, ut: "Obsequium amicos, ueritas odium parit"*. Provided that he indeed quotes Terence from Isidore, as seems most probable, Gerard is familiar with at least one of the contexts of the passage in the *Etymologiae*, where Book One deals with grammar and Book Two deals with rhetoric and dialectic. This implies that Gerard probably studied the seven liberal arts, or the *trivium* at least (grammar, rhetoric and dialectic), on the basis of Isidore's *Etymologiae*. Since many of his other indirect quotations also come from the *Etymologiae*, this hypothesis stands firm even if one considers the possible additional influence of such popular genres as hymns, *florilegia* and proverbs, which often feature the same passage of Terence as well.³⁸⁹

As regards the channels of influence, Gerard's indirect quotation from Terence is similar to that of Carolingian authors who usually knew that the passage came from Terence, such as Sedulius Scottus (*Terentius: Obsequium amicos, ueritas odium parit*) and Hincmar of Reims (*Quia uero, ut Comicus dicit: Obsequium amicos, ueritas odium parit*). Quoting this line remained popular, but its explicit connection to Terence seems to have gradually faded away, as was the case in authors of the tenth and eleventh centuries, some of them Gerard's contemporaries, such as Ratherius of Verona (*utilius estimari quod docet comicus quam quod interminatur Dominus, pluris pendi dictum: "Obsequium amicos, ueritas odium parit"*), Abbo of Fleury (*iuxta illud Comici:*

³⁸⁹ See Guido Maria Dreves, ed., *Analecta hymnica medii aevi*, vol. 21.2, *Cantiones et muteti: Cantiones festivae, morales, variae* (Leipzig: Reisland, 1895), 124–5; Gagnér (1936: 128); Hans Walther, ed., *Proverbia sententiaeque Latinitatis medii aevi*, vol. 5 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1967), 674; Arn-gart (1981: 297); Hans Walther and Paul Gerhard Schmidt, ed., *Proverbia sententiaeque Latinitatis medii ac recentioris aevi*, vol. 9 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1986), 784; Taylor (1992: 20–1).

Obsequium amicos, ueritas odium parit), Thangmar of Hildesheim (*sicut a quodam dictum est: Veritas odium parit*) and Otloh of Saint Emmeram, who simply quotes the line without proper attribution in his collection of proverbs. Similarly to Gerard's practice (*Unus autem ex uestris*), Thangmar, for instance, does not specify his immediate or ultimate source either (*sicut a quodam dictum est*). These ambivalent expressions imply secondhand quotations by both Thangmar and Gerard.³⁹⁰

Saint Jerome's reference to the commentaries on Terence's comedies by Donatus (*et in Terentii comoedias praeceptoris mei Donati*) shows that the textual transmission of Terence, including his *Andria*, was also enriched by various sets of scholia as well as biographies already in antiquity.³⁹¹ The Carolingian dissemination of the sixth-century commentaries by Euphrasius and the eighth-century *Commentum Brunsianum* complemented the ancient tradition and contributed to Terence's popularity as a school author in the Middle Ages: the rich manuscript tradition and the classical content of *florilegia* attest this proliferation. Lupus of Ferrières, for instance, wrote a letter to Rome with the following request: *Petimus etiam Tullium de oratore, et duodecim libros institutionum oratoriarum Quintiliani, qui uno nec ingenti uolumine continetur... Pari intentione Donati commentum in Terentium flagitamus.*³⁹² One of the numerous sets of medieval commentaries on Terence survives in a manuscript copied around the year 1000: Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 14420, fol. 79r–144v. Before entering the Munich collection, the manuscript belonged to the monastery of Saint Emmeram in Regensburg, but at the time when Gerard was a monk in Venice it was stored in the monastery of Brescia in northern Italy. This provenance suggests that Gerard, as a Venetian monk, might have been acquainted with a copy of a commentary on Terence of this sort in Venice or somewhere else in the region.³⁹³

Besides Gerard's indirect quotations from Lucretius and Terence, his *Deliberatio* also contains a reminiscence of Horace: *non Epicurii, illius coessentes, qui porcus a stultis sapientibus nuncupatus est*. The most popular classical manifestation of this ancient *topos* about Epicureanism is Horace's letter to Tibullus (*Epistulae* 1.4.16): *cum ridere uoles, Epicuri de grege porcum*. Scholars have never paid due attention to this

³⁹⁰ Sedulius Scottus, "Collectaneum miscellaneum," *CCCM* 67, 149; Hincmar of Reims, "De regis persona et regio ministerio ad Carolum calvum regem," *PL* 125, 833; Ratherius of Verona, "Praeloquia," *CCCM* 46A, 77; Abbo of Fleury, "Apologeticus ad Hugonem et Rodbertum reges Francorum," *PL* 139, 470; Thangmar of Hildesheim, "Vita Bernwardi episcopi Hildesheimensis," *MGH: Scriptores* 4, 764; Otloh of Saint Emmeram, "Liber proverbiorum," *PL* 146, 323. See Sutphen (1901: 386–7); Reece (1968: 212).

³⁹¹ Saint Jerome, "Contra Rufinum," *CCSL* 79, 15. See Leo (1883: 317–47); Fridericus Schlee, ed., *Scholia Terentiana* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1893), 52; Sabbadini (1894: 1–134); Büttner (1894: 73–5); Beeson (1922: 283–305); Jachmann (1924); Craig (1929: 10–3); Grant (1986: 60–96).

³⁹² Lupus of Ferrières, "Epistolae," *PL* 119, 579; Dziatzko (1894: 465–77); Rand (1909: 359–89); Ullman (1932: 1–42); Gariépy (1968: 90–105); Glauche (1972: 617–36); Riou (1973: 79–113); Gariépy (1976: 152–8); Marshall (1979: 514–23); Reeve (1983: 412–20); Riou (1997: 33–49).

³⁹³ See Bischoff (1972b: 53–61); Ferrari (1975: 303–20); Billanovich (1975: 321–52); Villa (1979: 1–44); Villa (1987: 292–320); Holloway (1992: 35–46). See also Maróti (1962: 243).

reminiscence in the *Deliberatio*, although its antecedents occur in such patristic authorities as Saint Jerome (*Et cum in amoenissimo agro in morsum uoluptuosorum hominum se crassum pinguemque describeret, lusit his uersibus: “Me pinguem et nitidum, bene curata cute, uises./ Cum ridere uoles, Epicuri de grege porcum”*) and Saint Augustine (*et ab Epicuro didicit hoc, nescio quo deliro philosopho, uel potius amatore uanitatis, non sapientiae, quem ipsi etiam philosophi porcum nominauerunt; qui uoluptatem corporis sumnum bonum dixit, hunc philosophum porcum nominauerunt, uoluntatem se in coeno carnali and imo uero doluit apostolus, quosdam e numero Christianorum elegisse sententiam Epicureorum, non hominum, sed porcorum*). Gerard, however, quotes Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiae* 8.6.15: *Epicurei dicti ab Epicuro quodam philosopho amatore uanitatis, non sapientiae, quem etiam ipsi philosophi porcum nominauerunt, quasi uoluntans in caeno carnali, uoluptatem corporis sumnum bonum adserens; qui etiam dixit nulla diuina prouidentia instructum esse aut regi mundum* (also quoted by Hrabanus Maurus). One might add here that one of the rare instances of referring to Epicureanism in medieval Hungary can be found in a thirteenth-century poem (*mechi, fures, Epicuri*).³⁹⁴

Gerard depends on Isidore of Seville's *Etymologiae* not only in terms of classical quotations but also concerning his etymological explanations of Latin terms. Isidore mixed the so-called 'technographic' etymology, based on Varro and Priscian, and the 'mythographic' and Biblical etymology, based on Saint Jerome and Saint Augustine. Gerard applies this Isidorian combination, for instance, in explaining the etymology of the noun *numerus*, deriving from *nummus*: *unum semen numeri est, non numerum... Numero uero circa nos nummus nomen dedit, et a sui frequentacione uocabulum indidit.* This etymology is a direct borrowing from Isidore's *Etymologiae* 3.3.1: *Nam unum semen numeri esse, non numerum. Numero nummus nomen dedit, et a sui frequentatione uocabulum indidit.* Hrabanus Maurus quotes the same Isidorian passage: *Apud Latinos uero numerus ex nummo et riuo uidetur nomen traxisse. Siue enim ex riuo nummorum, id est ex multitudine census, qui reddebat regibus uel imperatoribus numerus nomen accepit; unde Hisidorus dicit: “Nummus numero nomen dedit et a sui frequentatione uocabulum indidit.”* The excerpts from Priscian's grammar, attributed to Hrabanus Maurus, feature a similar etymology: *Numerus dicitur a nummis numerandis, uel a quadam dea Numeria. Singularis, id est certitas quantitatis.* The *nummus* and *Numeria* etymology features in the Carolingian commentaries on Donatus as well, Murethach and the *Ars Laureshamensis* providing literally the same etymology: *Dictus autem est numerus a Numeria dea, quam antiquitus coluerunt Romani; siue, ut quidam uolunt, a Numa consule Pompilio, uel etiam, quod uerius est, a nummis siue a nume-*

³⁹⁴ CCCM 49, 49; Saint Jerome, “Adversus Jovinianum,” *PL* 23, 302; Saint Augustine, “Enarrationes in Psalmos,” *CCSL* 39, 1022; Saint Augustine, “Sermones,” *PL* 38, 811; Hrabanus Maurus, “De universo,” *PL* 111, 415; “Planctus destructionis regni Hungariae per Tartaros,” *SRH* 2, 595. See also Luebeck (1872: 165); Löfstedt (1948: 137–9); Putnam (1972: 81–8).

rando. Sedulius Scottus provides a shorter version: *Numerus a Numeria dea uel a nummis nomen accepit.*³⁹⁵

No doubt Gerard's view of secular scholarship in general is primarily influenced by the Isidorian classification of learning. His division of the seven liberal arts is based on Isidore's *Etymologiae*, where Book One deals with grammar, Book Two with rhetoric and dialectic, and Book Three with the arts of the *quadrivium*. The significance of the seven liberal arts in the *Deliberatio* is, therefore, primarily due to Isidore's influence.³⁹⁶ When Gerard reviews the seven liberal arts in a brief survey, he simply enumerates the objects of study of each individual art, instead of explicitly naming them one after the other. He also gives a sketch of the history of the liberal arts, mentioning Greek and Roman authorities: Thales, Socrates, Plato, Aristotle, Gorgias and Hermagoras on the one hand, and Cicero and Quintilian on the other.³⁹⁷ Gerard admits that the labor of the ancient philosophers is worth praising, but one should not glorify them, since they acted only with the help of God, just like Balaam's ass in the Old Testament (Numbers 22.21–35): *sudor illorum potius laudandus quam ipsi benedicendi... Verum, dicto quod dixerunt, homines remanserunt, in quibus non permanet Dei spiritus. Mirum si Deus homines fecit loqui, qui asinum reddidit rethorem? Balaam arriolus non solum dixit, immo etiam predixit.* (Part of Gerard's syntax here resembles Hrabanus Maurus': *ab illo dicto quod dixit and illi dicto, quod dixit.*)³⁹⁸ Gerard's further elaboration on this subject is embedded in the patristic and Carolingian rhetorical tradition: *Quia uero, ut dictum audisti, spiritus Domini in hominibus non permanet, ideo uero tales minime benedicendi circa dimissionem, quamlibet, ut dixi, ingenia praedicanda siue temperate laudanda.* His statement relies on the vocabulary and the rhetorical principles of Saint Augustine (*temperat se laudator iste ardens*) and especially that of the *De doctrina Christiana*: *Et tamen cum doctor iste debeat rerum dicator esse magnarum, non semper eas debet granditer dicere, sed submisso, cum aliquid docetur; temperate, cum aliquid uituperatur siue laudatur.* Hrabanus Maurus later quotes these Augustinian rhetorical principles in the *De clericorum institutione*.³⁹⁹

Indeed, Gerard is more of a mystical author than a great friend of classical learning, although the two aspects are not necessarily mutually contradictory. With divine provi-

³⁹⁵ CCCM 49, 21; Hrabanus Maurus, "De computo," CCCM 44, 206–7; Pseudo-Hrabanus Maurus, "Excerptio de arte grammatica Prisciani," PL 111, 672; Murethach, "In Donati artem maiorem," CCCM 40, 88; "Ars Laureshamensis: Expositio in Donatum maiorem," CCCM 40A, 41; Sedulius Scottus, "In Donati artem minorem," CCCM 40C, 21. See also Warren (1885: 460); Elder (1947: 147); Amsler (1977: 5106); Fontaine (1988a: III.89–106).

³⁹⁶ See Rajna (1928: 4–36); Rand (1929a: 222–30); Lutz (1956b: 65–86); Fontaine (1959: 591–732); Weisheipl (1965: 54–90); Bischoff (1966d: 273–88).

³⁹⁷ CCCM 49, 1, 27, 40–2, 152; Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiae* 2.2.1, 2.23.1–2, 2.24.4–8.

³⁹⁸ CCCM 49, 41; Hrabanus Maurus, "Enarrationes in epistolas Pauli," PL 112, 550, 593.

³⁹⁹ CCCM 49, 41–2; Saint Augustine, "Enarrationes in Psalmos," CCSL 40, 1537; Saint Augustine, "De doctrina Christiana," CCSL 32, 144; Hrabanus Maurus, "De clericorum institutione," PL 107, 410.

dence in mind, he contends that the arts of the *trivium* correspond to Nature: grammar is Heaven, rhetoric is the Earth, and dialectic is the Sun, the Moon and the stars: *Nescio, a quo creatus sum, litterarum ignarus, celum pro gramatica, terram pro rhetorica, solem et lunam et stellas pro dialectica atque pro ceteris cetera, ut his pulcris disciplinis omnis creatura suum cognosceret creatorem, in doctrinam dedit.* While his expression *litterarum ignarus* reflects classical (Pliny, *Naturalis historia* 25.16, Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria* 5.14.29, and Tacitus, *Annales* 2.54.3 and 6.21.1) and early medieval vocabulary (Gregory the Great: *Ipsi namque Ecclesiae principes litterarum perhibentur ignari*, and Bede the Venerable: *litterarum ignari*), the content is rather Augustinian: *Omnis sapientiae disciplina, quae ad homines erudiendos pertinet, est creatorem creaturamque dinoscere, et illum colere dominantem, istam subiectam fateri.*⁴⁰⁰

Gerard's treatment of grammar seems contradictory. He asserts that the Bible refutes the grammarians concerning the interpretation of *Deus* as *timor*: *Quidam uero grammaticorum dicunt, quod Deus timor dicatur. Iohannes uero illorum mendatio longius obuiat dicens...* In fact, Gerard's criticism is somewhat misguided here, because this interpretation is also provided by patristic and Carolingian authors such as Venantius Fortunatus (*Ne timeam timidum, timor est Deus arma timentum*), Cassiodorus (*Deus enim Graeca lingua dicitur timor*), Isidore of Seville (*Etymologiae* 7.1.5: *Tertium Eloë, quod utrumque in Latino Deus dicitur. Est autem nomen in Latinum ex Graeca appellatione translatum. Nam Deus Graece deos, phobos dicitur, id est timor, unde tractum est Deus, quod eum colentibus sit timor*, quoted by Hrabanus Maurus) and Remigius of Auxerre (*scilicet timentibus separari a te, qui es timor, quia Graece deos, unde et Deus Latine, timor*). Gerard's misguided criticism shows that what he took for the grammatical tradition of secular learning was in fact that of Christian authorities as well. To use Jacques Fontaine's characterization, he confused sacred grammar with profane grammar.⁴⁰¹

The treatment of dialectic is a lot more detailed in the *Deliberatio*. Gerard's recusation includes a reference to the style of dialecticians and rhetoricians: *Quaeso autem, ne dicas offendere stilum dialecticorum auditum, neque rusticam rationem magnum oratorem.* His basic approach consists of contrasting sophisticated dialectic and rhetoric with simplicity: *non eruditos, sed piscatores; non dialecticos, sed simplices.* This approach in itself is nothing new: it appears with a similar vocabulary in patristic,

⁴⁰⁰ *CCCM* 49, 87; Gregory the Great, "Moralia in Iob," *CCSL* 143, 38; Bede the Venerable, "Vita quinque sanctorum abbatum," *PL* 94, 718; Saint Augustine, "De diuersis quaestionibus," *CCSL* 44A, 239. See also De Rijk (1963: 35–86); Köhn (1986: 203–84); Reynolds (1996: 17–28).

⁴⁰¹ *CCCM* 49, 15; Venantius Fortunatus, "Vita sancti Martini," *MGH: Auctores antiquissimi* 4.1, 298; Cassiodorus, "Expositio Psalmorum," *CCSL* 97, 441; Hrabanus Maurus, "De universo," *PL* 111, 13; Remigius of Auxerre, "Enarrationes in Psalmos," *PL* 131, 448. See also Illmer (1971: 57–73); Illmer (1976: 430–55); Swiggers (1984: 279–89); Fontaine (1988c: XIII.311–29).

Carolingian and medieval authors such as Saint Ambrose (*Non creditur philosophis, creditur piscatoribus, non creditur dialecticis, creditur publicanis*), Saint Jerome (*Oro te ut, philosophorum argumentatione deposita, Christiana mecum simplicitate loquaris, si tamen non dialecticos sequaris, sed piscatores and rusticani homines et uel rhetoricae uel dialecticae artis ignari*), Cassianus (*Qui simplicem piscatorum fidem corde simplici retinentes non eam syllogismis dialecticis et Tulliana facundia spiritu conceperem mundano*), Gregory the Great (*Prius namque collegit indoctos, et postmodum philosophos; et non per oratores docuit piscatores, sed mira potentia per piscatores subegit oratores*), Ambrosius Autpertus (*Nihil mihi Plato, nihil Cicero, nihil Omerus, nihil Virgilius, nihil Donatus, nihil Pompeius, nihil Seruius, nihil Sergius, nihil Priscianus contulit, sed si quid fortasse habere uideor, hoc de horreo dominicae praedicationis a Christo accepisse me fateor, non quo mihi et eorum scientia fuerit denegata, sed quo plus delectatus sim uerbis humillimi piscatoris quam superbissimi oratoris, plus diuinis intenderim quam humanis eloquiis*) and Peter Damian (*Piscatorum namque sumus discipuli, non oratorum, ut ex ore Christiani non Latinitas Tullii, sed simplicitas resonet Christi*).⁴⁰² Gerard expands on this contrast further: *Vide miraculum dialectice, hoc autem uiso erubescere ad philosophiam piscatoris, et disce melius scire a rustico reciatore quam a perito Aristarco et philosopho Ponsuphoclete.* Again, his approach and vocabulary is the same as that of Saint Ambrose (*Denique uerba philosophorum excludit simplex ueritas piscatorum*), Saint Jerome (*Legimus et litteras saeculares, legimus Platonem, legimus ceteros philosophos. Piscator noster inuenit quod philosophus non inuenit*), Arnobius (*quia non philosophi et rhetores, sed rustici et piscatores*), Gregory of Tours (*Sed quid timeo rusticitatem meam, cum dominus Redemptor et deus noster ad distruendam mundanae sapientiae uanitatem non oratores sed piscatores, nec philosophos sed rusticos praelegit?*), Hrabanus Maurus (*Non elegit reges aut senatores, aut philosophos, aut oratores. Imo uero elegit plebeios, pauperes, indoctos, piscatores*), Peter Damian (*cum idem ipsi nobiscum non philosophorum sed discipuli sint utique piscatorum*) and Otloh of Saint Emmeram (*Habeant amatores sapientiae secularis Tullium; nos imperiti et ignobiles, despici et contemptibiles sequamur Christum, qui non philosophos, sed piscatores elegit discipulos*). Gerard's reference to the Greek authors (*quam a perito Aristarco et philosopho Ponsuphoclete*) is an apparent confusion, possibly influenced by Isidore of Seville (*Aristarcus etiam et Aristophanes atque Sofocles tragiciarum scriptores*).⁴⁰³

⁴⁰² CCCC 49, 12, 47; Saint Ambrose, "De fide," CSEL 78, 37; Saint Jerome, "Dialogus contra Luciferianos," PL 23, 167; Saint Jerome, "Epistulae," CSEL 54, 367; Cassianus, "De institutis coenobiorum et de octo principalium uitiorum remediis," CSEL 17, 220; Gregory the Great, "Moralia in Iob," CCSL 143B, 1705; Ambrosius Autpertus, "Expositio in Apocalypsin," CCCC 27A, 636; Kurt Reindel, ed., *MGH: Die Briefe der deutschen Kaiserzeit*, vol. 4.3, *Die Briefe des Petrus Damiani* (Munich: MGH, 1989), 452.

⁴⁰³ CCCC 49, 166; Saint Ambrose, "De incarnationis dominicae sacramento," CSEL 79, 268; Saint Jerome, "Homilia in Iohannem euangelistam," CCSL 78, 519; Arnobius, "Commentarii in Psalmos," CCSL 25, 58;

Speaking of dialectic and rhetoric, Gerard adapts Varro's definition: *et Varro, qui nobiles geminas disciplinas diffiniendo sic distinguere dignatus est, dicendo, quod altera ab altera in manu hominis pugnus adstrictus et palma distensa, una uerba contrahens, alia distendens, una ad disserendum accutior, altera ad ea, que nititur, instruenda facundior, una ad coessentes, alia ad forenses procedit, quarum una studiosos requirit rarissimos, altera facundissimos populos.* This adaptation is a direct quote with minor adjustments from Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiae* 2.23.1–2: *Dialecticam et Rhetoricam Varro in nouem disciplinarum libris tali similitudine definit:* “*Dialectica et Rhetorica est quod in manu hominis pugnus adstrictus et palma distensa: illa uerba contrahens, ista distendens.*” *Dialectica siquidem ad disserendas res acutior: Rhetorica ad illa quae nititur docenda facundior...* *Illa requirit rarissimos studiosos: haec frequenter et populos.* This Isidorian passage, in turn, is a verbatim quotation from Cassiodorus, *Institutiones* 2.3.2. While various cases of the expression *nobilis disciplina* already appear in Cicero (*Lucullus* 42.129, 48.147) and also in Cassiodorus, the expression *acute disserere* figures in Cicero (*De finibus* 4.23.62: *acutius disseruisse*), Macrobius (*Saturnalia* 7.13.21: *Aristoteles enim, ut non nulla alia, magis acute quam uere ista disseruit*) and Saint Augustine (*acute disseratur*).⁴⁰⁴

Debating with the secular philosophers, Gerard adapts the threefold division of dialectic: *secundum phisicam et ethicam et loicam.* This threefold division of physics, ethics and logic is also based on Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiae* 2.24.4: *In Physica igitur causa quaerendi, in Ethica ordo uiuendi, in Logica ratio intellegendi uersatur* (and also 8.6.3: *Idem autem philosophi triplici genere diuiduntur: nam aut Physici sunt, aut Ethici, aut Logici*, quoted by Hrabanus Maurus).⁴⁰⁵ In Gerard's view, however, the threefold dialectic corresponds to the Holy Trinity: a supernatural physics represents the Father, an inestimable ethics represents the Son, and a principal logic represents the Holy Spirit: *Est autem quaedam natura, que omnem precellit phisicam, et ipsa principalissima phisica, cui incomparabilis adheret ethica incomparabilis et loica. Philosophi autem nudi et sine tegmine inmortalissime philosophiae dixerunt de phisica, de etica uero et loica, sed ueram phisicam ignorauerunt, mirabilem ethicam nescierunt, inestimabilem loicam non cognouerunt. Nobis autem reuelauit per Spiritum suum, qui uenit querere nostrum mortale et facere ethicum, quod in primis erat caninum, quamquam humanum. Ista phisica, de qua loquimur, inmensus Pater, a quo*

Gregory of Tours, “*De virtutibus sancti Martini*,” *MGH: Scriptores rerum Merovingicarum* 1, 586; Hrabanus Maurus, “*Enarrationes in epistolas Pauli*,” *PL* 112, 20; Kurt Reindel, ed., *MGH: Die Briefe der deutschen Kaiserzeit*, vol. 4.2, *Die Briefe des Petrus Damiani* (Munich: MGH, 1988), 63; Otloh of Saint Emeram, “*Vita Bonifatii*,” *MGH: Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum* 57, 112; Isidore of Seville, “*Chronica*,” *CCSL* 112, 89.

⁴⁰⁴ *CCCM* 49, 40; Cassiodorus, “*Variarum libri XII*,” *CCSL* 96, 50; Saint Augustine, “*De Genesi ad litteram*,” *CSEL* 28.1, 67.

⁴⁰⁵ *CCCM* 49, 124; Hrabanus Maurus, “*De universo*,” *PL* 111, 413.

sempiternus Filius, ethica idem Filius semper a Patre... Loica a Patre et Filio procedens sanctissimus Spiritus, qui... ad perfectissimam optime disputandi rationem perduxit... Potenti uirtute insinuatur supernaturalis phisica, demonstratur inaestimabilis ethica et loica principalis. His paeclarissimis denuntiationibus Pater, ex quo omnia, Filius, per quem omnia, Spiritus sanctus, in quo omnia... Phisica uero ideo Deus pater, quia natura deitas genuit, quod est, utique Deum, per quem omnia fecit, qui unigenitus est, licet generaret Deum Deus. Ethica autem Filius, circa quod superius possum est, et loica Spiritus sanctus... quamlibet in hoc dicto triplex admittatur sapientia, utique ex phisica et ethica et loica, quae semper una eademque habetur. While the interpretation of the correspondence between the threefold dialectic and the Holy Trinity seems unique, Gerard's vocabulary reveals that he is much indebted to his predecessors. His peculiar use of the superlative and grammatically redundant adjective *principalissima* reflects his reliance on the Latin translation of Pseudo-Dionysius Areopagita by John Scottus Eriugena (*diuinorum mandatorum principalissima processio*). His reference to the *philosophi nudi* echoes the descriptions in Saint Augustine (*Per opacas quoque Indiae solitudines, cum quidam nudi philosophentur, unde gymnosophistae nominantur, adhibent tamen genitalibus tegmina, quibus per cetera membrorum carent*), Isidore of Seville (*Etymologiae* 8.6.17: *Gymnosophistae nudi per opacas Indiae solitudines perhibentur philosophari, adhibentes tantum genitalibus tegmina*) and Remigius of Auxerre (*gymnasium etiam dicitur locus exercitii, ubi nudi luctabantur antiqui: gimnus enim grece nudus latine, hinc et gymnosophistae philosophi qui nudi disputantes philosophantur*). The expression *uera phisica* has its parallel in Cassianus: *ab illa uera physicae philosophiae disciplina*. The rhetorical term *disputandi ratio* is clearly Ciceronian (*De finibus* 2.6.18: *ratione ac uia disputandi, Orator* 32.113: *disputandi ratio et loquendi dialecticorum sit, oratorum autem dicendi et ornandi, Partitiones oratoriae* 23.78: *in ratione scientiaque disputandi, and Tusculanae disputationes* 5.4.11: *ratio disputandi*), and also appears in Justinian's corpus (*Digesta* 9.2.51: *contra rationem disputandi*) as well as in Saint Augustine (*disputandi rationem*) and Hrabanus Maurus (*disputandi ratio*). Gerard's elaboration on the Holy Trinity with the repetitions (*ex quo omnia, per quem omnia, in quo omnia*) is in turn clearly Augustinian: *Est autem creator deus ex quo omnia per quem omnia in quo omnia, et ideo trinitas, pater et filius et spiritus sanctus and ad significandum inuisibilem atque intelligibilem deum, non solum patrem sed et filium et spiritum sanctum, ex quo omnia, per quem omnia, in quo omnia.*⁴⁰⁶ Gerard concludes his panoramic overview of

⁴⁰⁶ *CCCM* 49, 171–2; John Scottus Eriugena, “*Versio operum sancti Dionysii Areopagitae: De ecclesiastica hierarchia*,” *PL* 122, 1074; Saint Augustine, “*De ciuitate Dei*,” *CCSL* 48, 440; “*Remigiana*,” *CCCM* 171, 21; Cassianus, “*Conlaciones*,” *CSEL* 13, 238; Saint Augustine, “*Soliloquiorum libri duo*,” *CSEL* 89, 82; Hrabanus Maurus, “*Expositiones in Leviticum*,” *PL* 108, 313; Saint Augustine, “*De diuersis quaestioniibus*,” *CCSL* 44A, 239; Saint Augustine, “*De Trinitate libri XV*,” *CCSL* 50, 114. See also Romans 11.36; Hebrews 2.10.

the threefold dialectic as a manifestation of the Holy Trinity in the following way: *In superioribus triplicem istiusmodi philosophiam circa discursam disciplinam multipliciter reor inspectam. Accidit autem hic, quanquam aliter congressio disputandi propter inestimabilem naturam, quam omnem phisicam superare innuimus eandem phisicam dicentes, ex qua omnem et ethicam demonstrantes, per quam omnia, loicam uero introducentes, in qua omnia, hoc totum propter uentos, quorum phisica in promptu et genesis spirituum supermirabilis.* His expression *congressio disputandi* has its parallel in Cicero, *De officiis* 1.37.132: *disputationibus, congreessionibus.*⁴⁰⁷

Furthermore, Gerard also mentions Aristotle's categories and their explications by Porphyry: *Mortales instructissimi quandam introductiones ad cognoscendam rerum ueritatem doctissime finixerunt. Secundum id uero denticatissimas leges dederunt, ponentes primum genus, deinde species et cetera, que tu docere non cessas, tandiu interponentes differentias, quousque ad proprium eius, de quo querebant, signata eius expressione, uenirent, quemadmodum tuus Porphirius in suis Isagogis comprobatur fecisse, quamlibet contra prophetas et apostolos multa impiissimo ore latrasse.* The expressions *que tu docere non cessas* and *tuus Porphirius* target Isingrim, the addressee of the work, whom the dedication calls *liberalis*. Gerard's description overall recalls Boethius (*Ergo haec substantialis diffinitio a M. Tullio sic explicatur. Oportere nos posito genere eius rei de qua quaeritur, subiungere species, ut alia quae uicina esse possint discretis communionibus separamus, et tandiu interponamus differentias, quandiu ad proprium eius de quo quaeritur signata eius expressione ueniamus*) and more closely Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiae* 2.25 (*De Isagogis Porphyrii*): *Isagoga quippe Graece, Latine introductio dicitur, eorum scilicet qui Philosophiam incipiunt... Nam posito primo genere, deinde species et alia, quae uicina esse possunt, subiungimus ac discretis communionibus separamus, tamdui interponentes differentias, quousque ad proprium eius de quo quaerimus signata eius expressione perueniamus... Isagogas autem ex Graeco in Latinum transtulit Victorinus orator, commentumque eius quinque libris Boetius edidit.* It is significant that Isidore's *quaerimus* becomes *querebant* in Gerard's loose quotation: the difference between Isidore's first person present and Gerard's third person past shows that for the latter the inquiries of the mortal philosophers are hardly more than a subject of pure antiquarian interest. The expression *doctissime finixerunt* echoes Saint Jerome (*doctissima finixerit Graecia*). The term *interponentes differentias*, besides being part of a verbatim quotation from Isidore, has its antecedent in Saint Augustine (*aliquas differentias interponens distulerat ordinem*, quoted by Hrabanus Maurus). Gerard's judgment of Porphyry (*impiissimo ore latrasse*), however, is obviously far from the Isidorian description. It applies instead a vocabulary used by Saint Ambrose (*impio ore maledicit*) and Cassianus (*ore im-*

⁴⁰⁷ CCCC 49, 173.

pio).⁴⁰⁸ Gerard's secondhand knowledge of and his negative approach to Porphyry are both apparent in his further references (*et scientiatis Porphirii Isagogas, quin potius et Aristotelis praedicamenta* and *ultra citroque dementia Porphirii inundauit*), which formally rely on Cassiodorus (*Institutiones* 2.3.9: *Aristotelis categoriae siue praedicamenta*) and Isidore of Seville (*Etymologiae* 2.26.1: *Sequuntur Aristotelis categoriae, quae Latine praedicamenta dicuntur*) but have nothing to do with their learned appreciation of ancient philosophy.⁴⁰⁹

Since the treatment of rhetoric in Saint Gerard's *Deliberatio* is later discussed separately in detail, it is appropriate now to examine Gerard's approach to the *quadriuum*, which also confirms his indirect but important dependence on the seven liberal arts. Isidore of Seville provides a comprehensive overview of the development of the liberal arts, including the *quadriuum*, in *Etymologiae* 2.24.4–8: *Physicam apud Graecos primus perscrutatus est Thales Milesius, unus ex septem illis sapientibus. Hic enim ante alios caeli causas atque uim rerum naturalium contemplata ratione suspexit, quam postmodum Plato in quattuor definitiones distribuit, id est Arithmeticam, Geometram, Musicam, Astronomiam. Ethicam Socrates primus ad corrigendos componendosque mores instituit, atque omne studium eius ad bene uiuendi disputationem perduxit, diuidens eam in quattuor uirtutibus animae, id est prudentiam, iustitiam, fortitudinem, temperantiam... Logicam, quae rationalis uocatur, Plato subiunxit, per quam, discussis rerum morumque causis, uim earum rationabiliter perscrutatus est, diuidens eam in Dialecticam et Rheticam... In his quippe tribus generibus Philosophiae etiam eloquia diuina consistunt. Nam aut de natura disputatione solent, ut in Genesi et in Ecclesiaste: aut de moribus, ut in Proverbiis et in omnibus sparsim libris: aut de Logica, pro qua nostri Theoreticam sibi uindicant, ut in Cantico canticorum, et Euangelii.* (This Isidorian passage is quoted and partly paraphrased by Hrabanus Maurus.) Gerard quotes the passage with slight adjustments: *Tales Milesius, qui apud Grecoſ fisice primus perscrutator perhibetur... Plato, qui quattuor in phisica distributiones donauit: Arithmeticam, nimirum, quemadmodum ipſe tuos plerumque doces, geometricam uero, musicam et astronomiam. Tuusque Socrates ad corrigendos mores componendos primus instituens et ad omne studium eius bene uiuendi disputationem perducens eamque in quattuor uirtutibus anime diuidens, nimirum: Prudentia, iusticia, fortitudine, temperantia, subiungens loicam, que rationalis uocatur, per quam discussis rerum morumque causis uim earum rationabiliter perscrutatus, diuidens eam in supra praedictas geminas disciplinas, dialecticam utique et rethoricam, in quibus tribus generibus philosophie etiam diuina eloquia tota a peritis constare uidentur. Denique autem de natu-*

⁴⁰⁸ CCCM 49, 33; Boethius, “De diffinitione,” *PL* 64, 896; Saint Jerome, “Adversus Jovinianum,” *PL* 23, 273; Saint Augustine, “Expositio quarundam propositionum ex epistola ad Romanos,” *CSEL* 84, 13; Hrabanus Maurus, “Enarrationes in epistolas beati Pauli,” *PL* 111, 1380; Saint Ambrose, “Explanatio Psalmorum XII,” *CSEL* 64, 376; Cassianus, “Conlationes,” *CSEL* 13, 271. See Gibson (1989–1990: 117–24).

⁴⁰⁹ CCCM 49, 33, 50. See also Szegfű (2000: 387–402).

*ra disputare solent, ut in uolumine Geneseos et in Ecclesiasten, aut de moribus ut in Prouerbiis, sparsimque in omnibus pene libris, aut de loica, ut in diuino epitalamio. Gerard addresses his single reference to arithmetic to Isingrim (*Aritmeticam, nimirum, quemadmodum ipse tuos plerumque doces*).⁴¹⁰*

He attributes the invention of the notions of the four principal virtues to Socrates, and he mentions the virtues elsewhere too: *uirtutes, quarum principales dicit doctissimorum deliberatio perfectissima uirorum quattuor, nimirum prudentiam, fortitudinem, temperantiam et iusticiam*. The adjective *principales* suggests that Gerard took his enumeration from Isidore again: *in quatuor principales uirtutes: prudentiam, scilicet, atque iustitiam, fortitudinem, et temperantiam*. The notion of the four principal virtues is clearly classical: the same enumeration occurs in Cicero (*De finibus* 5.13.36: *Alterum autem genus est magnarum uerarumque uirtutum, quas appellamus uoluntarias, ut prudentiam, temperantiam, fortitudinem, iustitiam et reliquas eiusdem generis*, and 5.21.58: *prudens, temperata, fortis, iusta ratio*, and *De inuentione* 2.53.159: *Habet igitur partes quattuor: prudentiam, iustitiam, fortitudinem, temperantiam*), Seneca (*Epistulae morales ad Lucilium* 90.46, 115.3 and 120.11) and Macrobius (*Commentarii in Somnium Scipionis* 2.17.5: *et prudens et temperatus et fortis et iustus*). This classical legacy survives through patristic mediation in authors such as Saint Ambrose (*Quae sunt quattuor initia uirtutum nisi unum prudentiae, aliud temperantiae, tertium fortitudinis, quartum iustitiae?*), Saint Jerome (*Audisse me memini quattuor perturbationes, de quibus plenissime Cicero in Tusculanis disputat: gaudii, aegritudinis, cupidinis et timoris, quorum duo praestantia, duo futura sunt, per quattuor significari animalia – de quibus et Vergilius breuiter: “Hinc metuunt, cupiuntque, dolent gaudentque” –, quae regi debeant ratione et potentia Dei, quibusque oppositae sint, immo impositae, uirtutes quattuor: prudentia, iustitia, fortitudo, temperantia* – Jerome's classical references are Cicero, *Tusculanae disputationes* 3.7.14–5, and Vergil, *Aeneis* 6.733), Saint Augustine (*Quando quidem uirtutem in quatuor species distribuendam esse uiderunt, prudentiam, iustitiam, fortitudinem, temperantiam*), Cassiodorus (*quatuor etiam uirtutibus animi dignitas comparatur, id est, prudentia, iustitia, fortitudine, et temperantia*) and Gregory the Great (*Possumus etiam per quatuor partes principales quatuor uirtutes accipere, ex quibus reliquae uirtutes oriuntur, uidelicet prudentiam, fortitudinem, iustitiam atque temperantiam*). The legacy left its mark in the works of Carolingian authors as well: Alcuin (*C. In quot partes diuiditur ethica? A. In quatuor quoque: prudentiam, iustitiam, fortitudinem, temperantiam. C. Logica in quot species diuiditur? A. In duas, in dialecticam et rhetorica. In his quippe generibus tribus philosophiae etiam eloquia diuina consistunt*), Hrabanus Maurus (*quatuor uirtutes principales, hoc est, prudentia, iustitia, fortitudo, temperantia*) and Sedulius Scottus (*Quatuor circuli doctrinam euangelicam, quatuorque uirtutes, prudentiam, temperantiam,*

⁴¹⁰ CCCC 49, 40–1; Hrabanus Maurus, “De universo,” *PL* 111, 416.

fortitudinem, iustitiam). The four principal virtues finally also appear in Peter Damian (*ita nihilominus et quattuor principales noscuntur esse uirtutes, iusticia scilicet, fortitudo, temperantia, atque prudentia*) and later in the chronicle literature of medieval Hungary as well, where they are applied to describe Saint Emeric's virtues (*Erat enim Beatus Emericus... iustitia, prudentia, fortitudine, temperantia... armatus ceterisque catholicis atque politicis uirtutibus adornatus*).⁴¹¹

Gerard makes virtually no reference to arithmetic or geometry, and his treatment of music hardly qualifies for the subject of the liberal arts. When he writes on matters related to music, he uses the Greek noun *melodema*, a practice resembling the vocabulary of John Scottus Eriugena's Latin translation of Pseudo-Dionysius Areopagita (*Deo acceptabilium prophetarum inspiratione melodema consonans*) but ultimately depending on Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiae* 3.20.5: *Haec et melos a suauitate et melle dicta*.⁴¹² Gerard often enumerates various musical instruments and attributes them to the Devil: *sonitum tube, fistule, cithare et sambuce et psalterii et simphonie et uniuersi generis musicorum... ad uocem tube, fistule et cithare, sambuce et psalterii et simphonie et uniuersi generis musicorum...* *Haec quidem omnia secundum hoc instrumenta diaboli sunt. Non enim de musica Dei procedunt talia; operibus diaboli, postposito sonito tube et fistule et cithare et sambuce et psalterii et simphonie et diuersi generis musicorum; in timpanis et in ceteris generibus musicorum.* All these instruments are listed in Gerard's principal subject, the Book of Daniel (3.5, 3.7, 3.10 and 3.15). These Biblical passages also influenced the occurrence of musical instruments in Cassiodorus (*Nam et psalterium genus esse musicorum Daniel propheta testatur, inquiens uocem tubae, fistulae, sambucae, citharae, psalterii et symphoniae omnisque generis musicorum*) and Isidore of Seville (*Etymologiae* 3.21–2: *tuba, fistula, sambuca, cithara, psalterium, symphonia*). Bede the Venerable later also provided a paraphrase of the relevant Biblical text (*Item Nabuchodonosor iussit omnes populos sibi subditos audita uoce symphoniarum et musicorum prostratos adorare statuam suam*, quoted by Hrabanus Maurus).⁴¹³ Musical instruments also serve as metaphors in the *Deliberatio* such as *Iuxta enim theologicam tubam, tuba intonante apostolica, or cithara Dauid*. Similar

⁴¹¹ CCCM 49, 175; Isidore of Seville, "Differentiae," *PL* 83, 94; Saint Ambrose, "De paradiso," *CSEL* 32.1, 273; Saint Jerome, "Commentariorum in Hiezechiele libri XIV," *CCSL* 75, 13–4; Saint Augustine, "De ciuitate Dei," *CCSL* 47, 114; Cassiodorus, "Expositio Psalmorum," *CCSL* 97, 62; Gregory the Great, "Homiliae in Hiezechiele prophetam," *CCSL* 142, 37; Alcuin, "De dialectica," *PL* 101, 952; Hrabanus Maurus, "De universo," *PL* 111, 215; Sedulius Scottus, "Explanationes in praefationes sancti Hieronymi ad evangelia," *PL* 103, 349; Kurt Reindel, ed., *MGH: Die Briefe der deutschen Kaiserzeit*, vol. 4.1, *Die Briefe des Petrus Damiani* (Munich: MGH, 1983), 161; "Chronici Hungarici compositio saeculi XIV.," *SRH* 1, 319. See Newhauser (1995: 420–8); Irwin (1999: 105–27).

⁴¹² CCCM 49, 3; John Scottus Eriugena, "Versio operum sancti Dionysii Areopagitae: De ecclesiastica hierarchia," *PL* 122, 1076.

⁴¹³ CCCM 49, 4, 5, 57; Cassiodorus, "Expositio Psalmorum," *CCSL* 97, 12; Bede the Venerable, "In Esdram et Nehemiam prophetas allegorica expositio," *PL* 91, 864; Hrabanus Maurus, "Expositio in librum Esther," *PL* 109, 638.

metaphors occur in patristic and Carolingian authors such as Saint Augustine (*tuba apostolica*), Leo the Great (*per uaticinia prophetarum, per euangelicam tubam apostolicamque doctrinam*), Venantius Fortunatus (*quod dat apostolica Paulus ab ore tuba*), Hrabanus Maurus (*tuba apostolicae praedicationis*), John Scottus Eriugena (*ad hanc magni theologi Dionysii praclarissimam tubam*) and Hincmar of Laon (*ut apostolica intonat tuba*). Overall, Gerard's references to music are closer to exegetical and liturgical contexts than those of the liberal arts.⁴¹⁴

Compared to the other arts of the *quadriuium*, Gerard treats astronomy in a surprisingly detailed manner. His major source being Isidore's *Etymologiae*, his work indirectly relies on the astronomical views of classical and patristic authors who treated the subject earlier. The classical etymology of *mundus*, provided in Varro's *De lingua Latina* (6.2.3: *et a motu eorum qui toto caelo coniunctus mundus*) and adapted in Isidore's *Etymologiae* (3.29.1: *Qui ideo mundus est appellatus, quia semper in motu est*), appears in the Isidorian version in the *Deliberatio: Mundus, quod in motu sit semper, dicitur*.⁴¹⁵ Following the secular philosophers, Gerard employs the notion of the seven spheres of the sky: *Philosophi autem mundi, quemadmodum optime admittis, septem celos, id est planetas globorum consono motu introduxerunt, quique uolubile iterum celum atque ardentem uolunt, hocque nomine uocatum, quod tamquam uas celatum inpraessa signa habeat stellarum, cuius spera species quedam in rotundum formata, cuius centrum terra est ex omnibus partibus equaliter conclusa. Hanc speram nec principium uolunt habere instructi, nec terminum.* Parts of Gerard's description reflect Cicero (*De natura deorum* 1.8.18: *rotundum ardentem uolubilem deum*) and Saint Ambrose (*quia impressa stellarum lumina uelut signa habeat*) but it is primarily a quotation from Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiae* 3.31-2: *Caelum philosophi rotundum, uolubile atque ardens esse dixerunt; uocatumque hoc nomine, eo quod tamquam uas caelatum inpressa signa habeat stellarum... Sphaera caeli est species quaedam in rotundo formata, cuius centrum terra est ex omnibus partibus aequaliter conclusa. Hanc sphaeram nec principium habere dicunt nec terminum... Philosophi autem mundi septem celos, id est planetas, globorum consono motu introduxerunt* (and also *Etymologiae* 13.4.1: *Caelum uocatum eo quod, tamquam caelatum uas, inpressa lumina habeat stellarum ueluti signa, quoted by Hrabanus Maurus*).⁴¹⁶ Gerard's description of the divine creation of the sky (*Hoc autem distinxit Deus claris luminibus et impleuit*

⁴¹⁴ *CCCM* 49, 16, 21, 150; Saint Augustine, "Contra litteras Petilianii," *CSEL* 52, 100; Leo the Great, "Tractatus," *CCSL* 138, 154; Venantius Fortunatus, "Carmina," *MGH: Auctores antiquissimi* 4.1, 191; Hrabanus Maurus, "Homiliae de festis praecipuis," *PL* 110, 57; John Scottus Eriugena, "Expositiones in Ierarchiam coelestem," *CCCM* 31, 17; Hincmar of Laon, "Opuscula et epistolae," *PL* 124, 988. See also Boynton (2000: 7–20).

⁴¹⁵ *CCCM* 49, 88.

⁴¹⁶ *CCCM* 49, 18; Saint Ambrose, "Exameron," *CSEL* 32.1, 54; Hrabanus Maurus, "De universo," *PL* 111, 263.

sole et luna, et astrorum micantium splendentibus signis adhornauit) is a quotation with minor differences from Isidore's *Etymologiae* 3.31.2 (and 13.4.1): *Distinxit enim Deus claris luminibus, et impleuit sole scilicet et lunae orbe fulgenti, et astrorum micantium splendentibus signis adornauit*. The Isidorian passages go back to earlier patristic tradition: the same description already occurs in Lactantius (*Suum uero habitaculum distinxit claris luminibus et impleuit, sole scilicet et lunae orbe fulgenti et astrorum micantium splendentibus signis adornauit*). Some of the key terms also appear in classics such as Lucretius (*De rerum natura* 4.444: *splendida signa*) and later in Martianus Capella (*De nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii* 8.838: *signis omne splendescere caelum*, and 9.912: *astra micantia*).⁴¹⁷

Gerard adapts the etymology of *firmamentum* as well: *celum, quod et firmamentum in eloquiis ideo uocatur, quod cursu sit siderum et ratis legibus fixisque firmatum. Interdum et celum pro aere accipitur, ubi uenti et nubes et procelle et turbines fiunt. Unus autem uestrum ait celum quod dicitur aer. Psalmographus nobilissimus noster: Volucres caeli, ait, cum euidentissimum sit uolucres in aere uolare. There is also this: Tali itaque et istiusmodi siderum cursu et ratis legibus firmamentum, de quo diximus, constat firmatum.* The Isidorian antecedent is the following (*Etymologiae* 13.4.2–5): *Caelum autem in Scripturis sanctis ideo firmamentum uocatur, quod sit cursu siderum et ratis legibus fixisque firmatum. Interdum et caelum pro aere accipitur, ubi uenti et nubes et procellae et turbines fiunt. Lucretius: Caelum, quod dicitur aer. Et Psalmus: "Volucres caeli" appellat, cum manifestum sit aues in aere uolare. Isidore's passage also draws on Psalms (LXX) 8.9 and 103.12, as well as Psalms (Hebr.) 103.12, and is later partly quoted by Hrabanus Maurus. The classical and patristic antecedents include Lucretius (*De rerum natura* 4.132: *constituuntur in hoc caelo, qui dicitur "aer"*, 6.124–6: *cum subito ualidi uenti conlecta procella/ nubibus intorsit sese, conclusaque ibidem/ turbine uersanti magis ac magis undique nubem*, and 6.443–7: *Fit quoque ut inuoluat uenti se nubibus ipse/ uertex, conradens ex aere semina nubis,/ et quasi demissum caelo prestera imitetur./ Hic ubi se in terras demisit dissoluitque,/ turbinis in manem uim prouomit atque procellae*) and Saint Augustine (*Quid ita dispositum est ab auctore naturae caeli et terrae, quem ad modum cursus ordinatissimus siderum? Quid tam ratis legibus fixisque firmatum?*; *Caelum enim dicitur etiam iste aer, ubi uenti et nubes et procellae et turbines fiunt*).⁴¹⁸*

Reporting on secular philosophers' findings concerning the Sun (*Philosophi uero saeculi solis ignem dicunt aqua nutriri et e contrario elemento uirtutem luminis et caloris accipere. Unde sepissime rorans et madidus conspicitur a mortalibus*), Gerard quotes Isidore again (*Etymologiae* 3.49.1: *Cuius ignem dicunt philosophi aqua nutriri,*

⁴¹⁷ CCCC 49, 19–20; Lactantius, "Diuinae institutiones," CSEL 19, 142.

⁴¹⁸ CCCC 49, 23, 25; Hrabanus Maurus, "De universo," PL 111, 263; Saint Augustine, "De ciuitate Dei," CCSL 48, 771; Saint Augustine, "De agone Christiano," CSEL 41, 104.

*et e contrario elemento uirtutem luminis et caloris accipere. Unde uidemus eum saepius madidum atque rorantem). This Isidorian passage is also quoted by Bede the Venerable and Hrabanus Maurus, and its classical and patristic antecedents can be found in the vocabulary of Ovid (*Metamorphoses* 1.339: *tunc quoque, ut ora dei madida rorantia barba*) and the more relevant description of Saint Ambrose (*Unde frequenter et solem uidemus madidum atque rorantem*).⁴¹⁹*

Gerard describes the solar eclipse (when the Moon blocks the sunlight) and the lunar eclipse (when the Moon enters the shadow of the Earth). In his symbolic interpretation, the lunar eclipse is nothing other than the human immersion in secular affairs where there is no light, that is, the eclipse of Christ Himself: *Denique eclipsis lune dicitur esse, quoties in terre umbram luna incurrit. Non enim, ut prudenter a crepundiis doctus es, suum lumen habere, sed a sole inluminari arbitratur, unde et defectum patitur, si inter ipsam et solem umbra terre interueniat. Receptiue admittendum, quod quoties incurrimus saecularia, toties a lumine, quo illuminamur, utique Christo, sequestrati eclipsin patimur.* And later he adds the following: *Hoc autem prosequuti sumus propter umbram terre, que inter solem, quem audisti, et lunam, ut eclipsis fiat, interuenit. Infelix terra, que inter Deum et hominem discordiam operatur.* Gerard's model for describing the lunar eclipse is Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiae* 3.59.1: *Eclipsis lunae est, quotiens in umbram terrae luna incurrit. Non enim suum lumen habere, sed a sole inluminari putatur, unde et defectum patitur si inter ipsam et solem umbra terrae interueniat.* The classical descriptions of the lunar eclipse include Cicero (*De diuinatione* 2.6.17: *motu lunae, quando illa e regione solis facta incurrat in umbram terrae*, and *De re publica* 1.14.22: *incideret luna tum in eam metam quae esset umbra terrae*) and Pliny (*Naturalis historia* 2.57: *cum conueniat umbra terrae lunam hebetari*), and later Martianus Capella (*De nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii* 8.870: *Item Lunae defectus fit, cum in contrario Luna posita, hoc est quinta decima, in eadem linea Solis umbra terrae metaliter infuscatur. Nam Sol umbram terrae in suam lineam mittit, quam si Lunae corpus intrarit, quoniam uidere lumen Solis terra obstante non poterit*). The lunar eclipse also figures in the works of patristic and Carolingian authors such as Cassiodorus (*Institutiones* 2.7.2: *eclipsis lunae est quotiens in umbram terrae luna incurrit*) and John Scottus Eriugena (*Ideoque uicina terris appellatur, in cuius umbram saepe incidens, solari luce deserta, defectum luminis patitur*). Gerard's symbolic interpretation, more importantly, also draws on Isidore of Seville, who attributes this interpretation to the Church Fathers: *Caeterum doctores nostri mystice huius eclipsis mysterium in Christo dixerunt esse completum.*⁴²⁰

Gerard's description of the solar eclipse follows similar patterns: *Denique eclipsis*

⁴¹⁹ CCCM 49, 28–9; Bede the Venerable, “De natura rerum,” CCSL 123A, 210; Hrabanus Maurus, “De computo,” CCCM 44, 256; Saint Ambrose, “Exameron,” CSEL 32.1, 53.

⁴²⁰ CCCM 49, 67–8, 69; John Scottus Eriugena, “De divisione naturae,” PL 122, 715; Isidore of Seville, “De natura rerum,” PL 83, 993.

demonstratur, quoties luna tricesima ad eandem lineam, qua sol uehitur, peruenit, eique se obiciens solem obscurat. Nam deficere nobis sol uidetur, dum illi orbis lune opponitur. He quotes Isidore (*Etymologiae* 3.58.1: *Eclipsis solis est, quotiens luna trigesima ad eandem lineam, qua sol uehitur, peruenit, eique se obiciens solem obscurat. Nam deficere nobis sol uidetur, dum illi orbis lunae opponitur*), who in turn relies on Cassiodorus (*Institutiones* 2.7.2: *Eclipsis solis est quotiens in luna tricesima ipsa luna nobis apparet, et per ipsam nobis sol obscuratur; eclipsis lunae est quotiens in umbram terrae luna incurrit*). The classical antecedents of the description of the solar eclipse include Macrobius (*Commentarii in Somnium Scipionis* 1.15.11: *Ideo nec sol umquam deficit, nisi cum tricesimus lunae dies est*) and Martianus Capella (*De nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii* 8.869: *Nam cum Luna scandens descendensue in solarem lineam inciderit, si tricesima est, hoc est omni corpore subiecta Soli, obscurationem Solis terris facit*).⁴²¹ Later on in the work, the clause *luna sub eterna defectione constituta* recalls similar expressions of classical and patristic authors such as Cicero (*De natura deorum* 2.61.153: *defectiones solis et lunae*), Quintilian (*Institutio oratoria* 1.10.47: *de lunae defectione*) and Gellius (*Noctes Atticae* 2.28.4: *de lunae solisque defectionibus*), as well as Saint Ambrose (*menstrua lunae defectione*).⁴²²

The classical etymology of the noun *stella* also appears in the *Deliberatio*: *Stelle quippe a stando dicuntur*. The immediate source is Isidore (*Etymologiae* 3.71.3: *Stellae dictae a stando, quia semper fixae stant in coelo nec cadunt*, quoted by Hrabanus Maurus), who relies on the classical tradition, especially on Varro, mediated by Martianus Capella (*De nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii* 8.817: *quidam Romanorum non per omnia ignarus mei stellas ab stando, sidera a considendo, astra ab Astraeo dicta fuisse commemorat*) and Cassiodorus (*Institutiones* 2.7.2: *quia dum stella semper moueatur, tamen in aliquibus locis stare uidetur; nam et Varro, in libro quem de Astrologia conscripsit, stellam commemorat ab stando dictam*).⁴²³ Furthermore, Gerard distinguishes between the singular *stella*, the plural *sidera*, and the *astra*, which is a complex constellation: *Peribentur etiam differre inter stellas et sidera et astra: Stelle singulares, sidera ex plurimis facta, ut Hiadas et Pliadas cernimus. Astra stelle grandes, ut Orion, Bootes*. He elaborates on the subject later as well: *dicunt astra potiora ceteris, quemadmodum utique contemplantur, sidera autem ex plurimis fieri stellis, stelle uero singulares*. There is also this: *Igitur sidera ex pluribus luciferis narrantur ut Hiades et Pliades... Unde Pliades a pluralitate uocate... Pliades uero, septem cum sint stelle, ac per hoc numquam uidetur nisi sex*. (Further relevant passages of his include *signa celestia et stelle et astra et sidera* and *astris, sideribus, stellis*.) The principal source is Isidore's *Etymologiae* (3.60.1–2: *Stellae et sidera et astra inter se differunt. Nam stella*

⁴²¹ CCCM 49, 77.

⁴²² CCCM 49, 103; Saint Ambrose, "Exameron," CSEL 32.1, 9.

⁴²³ CCCM 49, 81; Hrabanus Maurus, "De computo," CCCM 44, 248. See also Murgia (1968: 341).

*est quaelibet singularis. Sidera uero sunt stellis plurimis facta, ut Hyades, Pleiades. Astra autem stellae grandes, ut Orion, Bootes, quoted by Hrabanus Maurus, and 3.71.13: *Pliades a pluralitate dictae... Sunt enim stellae septem ante genua Tauri; ex quibus sex uidentur, nam latet una*) and his *De natura rerum* (*Pleiades autem ex pluralitate uocatae sunt*). The vocabulary of all these passages is clearly classical, recalling Vergil (*Georgica* 1.137–8: *nauita tum stellis numeros et nomina fecit/ pleiadas, hyadas, claramque Lycaonis arcton*), Ovid (*Metamorphoses* 13.293: *Pleiadasque Hyadasque in munemque aequoris Arcton*) and Macrobius (*Commentarii in Somnium Scipionis* 1.14.21: *sed sunt stellae quidem singulares... sidera uero, quae in aliquod signum stellarum plurium compositione formantur*). Influential representatives of the patristic and Carolingian tradition of Biblical commentary also applied this classical vocabulary while explaining Job 38.31 (*numquid coniungere ualebis micantes stellas Pliadis aut gyrum Arcturi poteris dissipare*), such as Saint Jerome (*Pleiades appellat stellas, quae iunctae, uelut septem esse monstrantur*), Gregory the Great (*micantes Pleiades, quae et septem sunt... Pleiades stellae... a pluralitate uocatae sunt*) and Hrabanus Maurus (*micantes Pleiades quae et septem*).⁴²⁴*

Gerard's references to the *sidera errantia* (*Verum non in eodem stellae eratice iudicande, quin potius discurrentes; suis sideribus errantibus; sidera errantia*) reflect the vocabulary of the Bible (Jude 13: *sidera errantia quibus procella tenebrarum in aeternum seruata est*) and the descriptions in Isidore of Seville's *Etymologiae* (3.63.1: *Mouentur uero quaedam sicut planetae, id est erratica, quae cursus suos uagos certa tamen definitione conficiunt*, and 3.67.1: *Quaedam stellae ideo planetae dicuntur, id est errantes, quia per totum mundum uario motu discurrunt*). The expression originates in Latin classics such as Cicero (*De natura deorum* 1.31.87: *errantium siderum*), Seneca (*Epistulae Morales ad Lucilium* 36.11: *Stellarum iste discursus*), Pliny (*Naturalis historia* 2.32: *errantium siderum*, and 2.100: *discursus stellarum*), Gellius (*Noctes Atticae* 14.1.23: *errantium siderum*) and Macrobius (*Commentarii in Somnium Scipionis* 1.20.5: *erratica stella*, and 1.21.6: *Ideo stellae, quae per spatia grandiora discurrunt*). Due to the Bible and the Latin classics, the expression frequently occurs in patristic and medieval Latin.⁴²⁵

Gerard provides a description of the location of the various stars: *stelle et astra et sidera continentur atque rotantur, que diuersis interuallis distant a terra*. In his interpretation, it means the following: *Ideo recte ecclesiastice stelle quibusdam uariis interuallis distant a terra, id est diuersis beatorum operum meritis segregantur a mundo*. The description itself is a loose quotation from Isidore's *Etymologiae* (3.65.1: *Stellae inter se diuersis interuallis distant a terra, propterea dispari claritate magis minusue*

⁴²⁴ CCCM 49, 81, 88, 92, 102, 104; Hrabanus Maurus, “De universo,” *PL* 111, 271; Isidore of Seville, “De natura rerum,” *PL* 83, 999; Saint Jerome, “Commentarii in librum Job,” *PL* 26, 759; Gregory the Great, “Moralia in Job,” *CCSL* 143B, 1481; Hrabanus Maurus, “De universo,” *PL* 111, 273. See Rose (1932: 194).

⁴²⁵ CCCM 49, 88, 102, 103.

nostris oculis apparent. Nam multae maiores sunt his quas uidemus conspicuas, sed longius positae paruae uidentur a nobis), while Isidore in turn relies heavily on Saint Augustine (*Quaeri etiam solet, utrum caeli luminaria ista conspicua, id est sol et luna et stellae, aequaliter fulgeant, sed, quod diuersis interuallis distent a terra, propterea diuersa claritate magis minusque nostris oculis adpareant*).⁴²⁶

Gerard's description of *Lucifer* is the following: *Lucifer, non ille, qui inducit occassum, sed qui diem consurgentis aurore... Sic deiectus est Lucifer occiduus et omnia sua astra pariter cum eodem*. It primarily reflects the relevant Biblical passage (Job 38.32: *numquid producis luciferum in tempore suo et uesperum super filios terrae consurgere facis*), but its further parallels include classical Latin poets such as Tibullus (*Elegiae* 1.3.93–4: *Hoc precor, hunc illum nobis Aurora nitentem/ Luciferum roseis candida portet equis*), Ovid (*Heroides* 18.112: *Praeuius Aurora Lucifer ortus erat*, and *Metamorphoses* 4.629–30: *dum Lucifer ignes/ euocet Aurora, currus Aurora diurnos*) and Statius (*Thebais* 12.50: *tertius Aurora pugnabat Lucifer*). The patristic and Carolingian antecedents are Saint Jerome (*Pro Luciferi qui Hebraice dicitur Elil, Aquila transtulit: Ululantem Aurora filium*) and John Scottus Eriugena (*sub symbolo lucifere stelle a sanctis theologis innuitur, quam stellam mysticam clara sequitur aurora*).⁴²⁷

The description of *Arcton* and *Arctophylax* (*Pulchre uidetur Arcton signum magnum in axe, et Artophilax sequens similia uero*) is Isidorian (*Etymologiae* 3.71.6–8: *Signorum primus Arcton, qui in axe fixus septem stellis in se reuolutis rotatur... Arctophylax dictus, quod Arcton, id est Helicem Ursam, sequitur*). It also reflects Roman and Christian Latin poetry such as that of Ovid (*Fasti* 2.189–90: *signa propinqua micant: prior est, quam dicimus Arcton, / Arctophylax formam terga sequentis habet*, and *Tristia* 1.3.48: *uersaque in axe suo Parrhasis Arctos erat*), Lucan (*Bellum ciuile* 10.250: *frigore ab Arctoo medium reuocata sub axem*) and Sedulius (*Arcton dextra tenet, medium laeua erigit axem*, quoted by Bede the Venerable and Hrabanus Maurus).⁴²⁸ The notion of *Arcturus* consisting of seven stars (*Arcturus autem septem stellis consistit, in modum plaustri rotans se semper*) is Isidorian again (*Arcturus est ille quem Latini Septentrionem dicunt, qui septem stellarum radiis fulgens, in seipso reuolutus rotatur, qui ideo Plaustrum uocatur, quia in modum uehiculi uoluitur*), and it also appears in Gregory the Great (*per Arcturi septem stellas*).⁴²⁹

Speaking of *Orion* (*Orion armatus ut gladius stellarumque luce terribilis atque*

⁴²⁶ CCCC 49, 88, 92; Saint Augustine, “De Genesi ad litteram,” CSEL 28.1, 58.

⁴²⁷ CCCC 49, 82; Saint Jerome, “Commentariorum in Esaiam libri,” CCSL 73, 240; John Scottus Eriugena, “Expositiones in Ierarchiam coelestem,” CCCC 31, 45.

⁴²⁸ CCCC 49, 89; Sedulius, “Paschale carmen,” CSEL 10, 128; Bede the Venerable, “In Lucae evangelium expositio,” CCSL 120, 401; Hrabanus Maurus, “In honorem sanctae crucis,” CCCC 100, 103.

⁴²⁹ CCCC 49, 93; Isidore of Seville, “De natura rerum,” PL 83, 998; Gregory the Great, “Moralia in Iob,” CCSL 143B, 1485.

clarissimus), Gerard loosely quotes Isidore's *Etymologiae* (3.71.11: *Hunc Latini Iugulam uocant, quod sit armatus, ut gladius, et stellarum luce terribilis atque clarissimus*) and *De natura rerum* (*Orion stella est. Hic autem Orion gladius dictus est. Unde etiam eum Latini Iugulam uocant, sidus, ut uidetur, armatum et stellarum luce terribile, quod ignorare magnae difficultatis est, adeo ut quamvis rudes oculos, tamen p[ro]ae fulgoris splendore in seipsum rapiat*). The Isidorian passages rely on the classical tradition (Pliny, *Naturalis historia* 18.256: *gladius Orionis exoritur... Orionis gladius*), transmitted by patristic authorities such as Tertullian (*Orionis armati manus*) and Gregory the Great (*quasi Orion gladium teneat amator insanus*). The relevant lines of Vergil's *Aeneis* (3.516–7: *Arcturum, pluiasque Hyadas, geminosque Triones/ Armatumque auro circumspicit Oriona*) are quoted by Macrobius (*Saturnalia* 5.11.10) and Saint Jerome.⁴³⁰ The description of Sirius (*Sirius stella, que canicula dicitur, et estiuis temporibus in medio celi centro atque soli adiuncta duplicatus uaporatur*) is also Isidorian (*Etymologiae* 3.71.14: *Canicula stella, quae et Sirius dicitur, aestiuis mensibus in medio centro caeli est: et dum sol eam ascenderit, coniuncta cum sole duplicatur calor ipsius, et dissoluuntur corpora et uaporantur*). The classical antecedent is Servius, *In Vergili Georgicon libros* 4.424: *Sirius enim a poetis et pro sole ponitur: ab aliquo eorum canicula intellegitur*.⁴³¹ The etymology of *cometes* (*Stella cometes ex se luminis comas effundens*) comes from Isidore's *Etymologiae* (3.71.16: *Cometes stella est dicta eo quod comas luminis ex se fundat*) and *De natura rerum* (*Cometes stella est quae uelut comas luminis ex se fundit*). Its classical antecedents include Seneca (*Naturales quaestiones* 7.4.1: *Hic enim ait cometas in numero stellarum errantium ponit a Chaldaeis tenerique cursus eorum*), Pliny (*Naturalis historia* 2.89: *cometas Graeci uocant, nostri crinitas, horrentes crine sanguineo et comarum modo in uertice hispidas*), Suetonius (*Diuus Claudius* 46.1: *exortus crinitae stellae, quam cometen uocant*) and Servius (*In Vergili Aeneidos libros* 10.272: *Plinius etiam Secundus dicit, cometas stellas esse naturales*).⁴³²

The description of *Vesperus* (*Vesperus stella, que oriens luciferum, occidens uesperum facit*) is a quotation from Isidore of Seville (*Etymologiae* 3.71.19: *Vesperus stella est occidentalis... Fertur autem quod haec stella oriens luciferum, occidens uesperum facit. De qua Statius: Et alterno dependitur unus in ortu*). This Isidorian passage, in turn, quotes Statius' *Thebais* (*Thebais* 6.241: *sidera et alterno deprenditur unus in ortu*). Further similar descriptions of *Vesperus* include Martianus Capella (*De nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii* 8.883: *nunc post occasum Solis effulgens Vesper uel Vesperugo nominatur*), Saint Ambrose (*quando uesperus surgat, quando lucifer, cur ille ue-*

⁴³⁰ CCCM 49, 93; Isidore of Seville, "De natura rerum," *PL* 83, 999; Tertullian, "Scorpiaceae," *CSEL* 20, 168; Gregory the Great, "Moralia in Iob," *CCSL* 143, 464; Saint Jerome, "Commentarii in prophetas minoris," *CCSL* 76, 280.

⁴³¹ CCCM 49, 93.

⁴³² CCCM 49, 93; Isidore of Seville, "De natura rerum," *PL* 83, 1000.

spertinus, hic matutinus inradiet), Saint Jerome (*qui inter stellas ceteras mane oriebatur, et suo uitio de lucifero uesper effectus est, et non oriens, sed occidens* and *Lucifer qui ipse uesper est, dum ad orientem et ad occidentem rutilus micat*) and Venantius Fortunatus (*lucifer an uitae mors sibi uesper erit*).⁴³³ Gerard's further elaboration on *Vesperus* (*Hoc autem propter stellam Vesperum significatiue dictum, que noctem ducere et diem sequi perhibetur*) is also Isidorian (*Etymologiae* 3.71.19: *Est autem et ipsa ex quinque stellis planetis, noctem ducens et solem sequens*).⁴³⁴

He inserts his personal comments into a lengthy quotation from Isidore on the mythological names of various signs of the zodiac: *Quid itaque bestialius, qui pisces, arietes, hircos, tauros, ursos, canes, cancros et scorpiones transtulerunt? Nec autem suffecit id, immo nominibus deorum suorum Pheton, Phenonta, Phiriona, Hesperus, Stelbon, nimirum Iouis, Saturni, Martis, Veneris atque Mercurii dedicauerunt, submersi omni superstitione praeuenti et errore inuoluti diabolicaque opinione armati, ponentes aquilam et cincum Iouis propter insulsos rumores, Perseum et Andromedam coniugem eiusdem, aurigam et Rictionum, Calisto, Licaonis imperantis natam, quam Arcton nominare consueuerunt liram, centaurum, Scolaphionis Achilisque impletorem. Tali quidem dementia gentilium extitit, que etiam hodie in plerisque uigilare non dubitatur.* (The original passages in the *Etymologiae* are 3.71.20–1: *Quarum nomina Graeca sunt Phaethon, Phaenon, Pyrion, Hesperus, Stilbon. Has Romani nominibus deorum suorum, id est Iouis, Saturni, Martis, Veneris, atque Mercurii sacrauerunt, and* 3.71.32–6: *Et miranda dementia gentilium, qui non solum pisces, sed etiam arietes et hircos et tauros, ursas et canes et cancros et scorpiones in caelum transtulerunt. Nam et aquilam et cignum propter Iouis fabulas inter caeli astra eius memoriae causa conlocauerunt. Perseum quoque et uxorem eius Andromedam, posteaquam sunt mortui, in caelum receptos esse crediderunt... Aurigam et Ericthonium in caeli astra conlocauerunt... Sic Callisto, Lycaonis regis filia... eamque Arcton... appellauit. Sic Lyra pro Mercurio in caelum locata; sic Centaurus Chiron, propter quod nutrierit Aesculapium et Achillem, inter astra dinumeratus est.*)⁴³⁵

The etymology of *sol* and *luna* in the *Deliberatio* is the following: *Sol autem dicitur, quod solus appareat et luna quasi lucina eo, quod ab ipso sole lucem accipiat.* This etymology is also from Isidore's *Etymologiae* 3.71.1–2: *Sol appellatus eo quod solus appareat, obscuratis fulgore suo cunctis sideribus. Luna dicta quasi Lucina, ablata media syllaba. De qua Vergilius (Vergil, *Eclogae* 4.10): "Casta faue Lucina." Sumpsit autem nomen per deriuationem a solis luce, eo quod ab eo lumen accipiat, acceptumque reddat.* (This Isidorian passage is also quoted by Hrabanus Maurus.) The

⁴³³ *CCCM* 49, 93; Saint Ambrose, "Exameron," *CSEL* 32.1, 255; Saint Jerome, "Commentariorum in Esaiam libri," *CCSL* 73, 240; Saint Jerome, "Commentariorum in Hiezechilem libri XIV," *CCSL* 75, 20; Venantius Fortunatus, "Carmina," *MGH: Auctores antiquissimi* 4.1, 136.

⁴³⁴ *CCCM* 49, 94.

⁴³⁵ *CCCM* 49, 83–4.

origin of the description of *luna* and *lucina* is obviously classical. Isidore quotes Vergil's *Eclogae* (4.10: *casta faue Lucina: tuus iam regnat Apollo*), but *Lucina* also appears already in Terence's *Andria* (473: *Iuno Lucina, fer opem, serua me, obsecro*) and, more importantly, in Horace's *Carmen saeculare* (15: *siue tu Lucina probas uocari*), where Horace is addressing Diana. Servius aptly sums up these occurrences in his commentary on Vergil (*In Vergilii Bucolicon librum* 4.10: "Casta faue Lucina" modo *Lucinam Dianam accipimus*: sic Horatius "siue te Lucinam probas uocari," seu te penitus *Iunonem*. Terentius *Iunonem Lucinam* dicit, ut "Iuno Lucina, fer opem, s.m.o.": tamen ambae unum sunt. Sane hic *Dianam Lucinam* non inmerito designat; prior enim genita parturienti matri *Apollinem tulisse auxilium dicitur*). Apart from these Roman poets, the classical tradition of the etymology of *sol* and *luna* also includes Cicero (*De natura deorum* 2.27.68: *cum sol dictus sit uel quia solus ex omnibus sideribus est tantus uel quia cum est exortus obscuratis omnibus solus apparel, luna a lucendo nominata sit; eadem est enim Lucina*) and later Macrobius (*Commentarii in Somnium Scipionis* 1.20.4: *quod talis solus appareat, sol uocetur*). A critical evaluation of this pagan etymology from a Christian point of view appears in Firmicus Maternus: *Solem dici uoluerunt, non quia solus est, ut quidam uolunt – quia illic et caelum est et luna et alia plurima sidera quae uidemus, ex quibus quaedam una serie et cohaerentia perpetua simulque copulata lucent, alia toto sparsa caelo uagos cursus suis metiuntur erroribus –, sed ideo Sol appellatur, quia cum ortus fuerit obscuratis ceteris sideribus luceat solus. Luna etiam – haec eadem Lucina – a nocturno lumine nomen accepit: hanc etiam quidam *Dianam* dici uoluerunt, quod per noctem lucens hominibus alterum paene diem faciat.⁴³⁶* Another term of Gerard's relevant to astronomy is *emisperion*, which probably reflects the chapter *De hemisphaeriis* in Isidore's *Etymologiae* 3.43.⁴³⁷

Gerard's knowledge of the *quadriuum* is overall based on the *Etymologiae* of Isidore of Seville. Since Isidore's contribution itself is strongly embedded in the classical tradition, this mediation connects Gerard to the ancient classics and enables him to at least make references to the Greek and Roman authorities. His indirect references have a twofold implication. First, they demonstrate that the pieces of the classical legacy that indirectly reached Gerard were superficial and fragmentary. Second, on the other hand, they also show that he had a strong obsession with the pagan authorities, no matter how little he knew about them directly.⁴³⁸

Gerard's approach to the seven liberal arts in particular and to the classical tradition

⁴³⁶ CCCM 49, 61; Hrabanus Maurus, "De computo," CCCM 44, 248; Firmicus Maternus, "De errore profanarum religionum," CSEL 2, 101.

⁴³⁷ CCCM 49, 75. See Betten (1923: 74–90); Laistner (1941: 251–75); Stevens (1980: 268–77); Fontaine (1988b: XII.271–300); Chance (1994: 30–44, 139–47); Szegfű (1998: 57–68).

⁴³⁸ See Klinkenberg (1959: 1–32); Beaujouan (1972: 639–67); Hellgårdt (1973: 7–26); Evans (1975: 151–64); Englisch (1994).

in general can be best interpreted against the background of his preference of divine wisdom to human knowledge and faith in God to human wisdom. First of all, he paraphrases the famous Ciceronian notion in the following way: *Quidam uero uolunt scientiam differenter in humanis, sapienciam in diuinis*. Cicero's definitions (*De officiis* 2.2.5: *Sapientia autem est, ut a ueteribus philosophis definitum est, rerum diuinorum et humanarum causarumque, quibus eae res continentur, scientia*, and *Tusculanae disputationes* 4.26.57: *sapientiam esse rerum diuinorum et humanarum scientiam cognitionemque*) were quoted by Seneca (*Epistulae morales ad Lucilium* 89.5), Lactantius, Saint Augustine and Isidore of Seville. Very similar observations occur in Quintilian (*Institutio oratoria* 12.2.8: *ut oratoris uita cum scientia diuinorum rerum sit humanarumque coniuncta*) and Saint Augustine again (*si ita inter se distant haec duo ut sapientia diuinis, scientia humanis attributa sit rebus*, quoted by Hrabanus Maurus).⁴³⁹ Gerard challenges the popular Ciceronian notion from a traditional Christian standpoint: *Nemo umquam ad fidem Dei legitur uenisse sapientia humana*. Similar statements appear already in Leo the Great (*Hanc autem fidem non terrena sapientia repertit, nec opinio humana persuasit*) and Hrabanus Maurus (*uel philosophus gentilis in humanae sapientiae scriptis, uel paganus persecutor qui nondum peruenit ad fidem*).⁴⁴⁰ According to Gerard, the enemies of faith disseminate poison: *Que diuina antidota omnia interimunt et ad nihilum deducunt, non inuenta ab Ipocrate et Galieno, sed a Spiritu sancto confecta*. His references to human medicine parallel those of Saint Jerome (*Galenus uir doctissimus, Hippocratis interpres; quasi spiritualis Hippocrates*) and Cassiodorus (*Institutiones* 1.31.2: *legite Hippocratem atque Galienum Latina lingua conuersos*).⁴⁴¹

Nevertheless, human scholarship and divine wisdom are strongly connected, just like the pagan heritage and its Christian context. Gerard emphasizes this idea by exploiting the traditional Christian interpretation of the Biblical story about the *spoliation Aegyptiorum*. This interpretation is set forth in detail by Saint Augustine, who provides a thorough justification of the use of the pagan heritage by Christians for pious purposes, although always claiming the superiority of the Christian doctrine over the statements of the ancient Greek and Latin authors.⁴⁴² Gerard did his best to promote the patristic tradition of interpreting the pagan heritage with the help of the popular meta-

⁴³⁹ *CCCM* 49, 28; Lactantius, "Diuinae institutiones," *CSEL* 19, 213–4; Saint Augustine, "Contra Academicos," *CCSL* 29, 12; Isidore of Seville, "Differentiae," *PL* 83, 93; Saint Augustine, "De Trinitate libri XV," *CCSL* 50A, 415; Hrabanus Maurus, "Enarrationes in epistolas Pauli," *PL* 112, 520.

⁴⁴⁰ *CCCM* 49, 48; Leo the Great, "Tractatus," *CCSL* 138A, 493; Hrabanus Maurus, "Commentarii in Ecclesiasticum," *PL* 109, 913.

⁴⁴¹ *CCCM* 49, 64; Saint Jerome, "Adversus Jovinianum," *PL* 23, 300; Saint Jerome, "Contra Joannem Hierosolymitanum," *PL* 23, 890.

⁴⁴² Saint Augustine, "De doctrina Christiana," *CCSL* 32, 73–7. See Laistner (1950: 47–61); Outler (1959: 213–20); Ellsperrmann (1985: 174–247); Hughes (2000: 96–100); Clark (2001: 133–47); Nadeau (2001: 10–11).

phor of despoiling the Egyptians: *Verum tantum est nobis nonumquam mortalium ac seducentium accommodare animum lectionibus, quantum extitit Dei populo iubente Domino per Moysen sacrum uasa argentea et aurea mutuo accipere Egyptiorum: In agris aliquando lilia et in spinis rose, immo et ex his leguntur plerumque a nonnullis quemadmodum de terra aurum et de ceteris cetera.* Gerard's own contribution to this metaphor relies on Song of Songs 2.2: *sicut lily inter spinas sic amica mea inter filias.* Classical and patristic antecedents of this metaphor include Ovid (*Ars amatoria* 2.115–6: *Nec uiolae semper nec hiantia lilia florent, / Et riget amissa spina relicta rosa*), the poetry of Isidore of Seville (*Sunt hic plura sacra sunt hic mundi alia plura, / Ex his si qua placent carmina tolle, lege. / Prata uides plena spinis et copia floris, / Si non uis spinas sumere sume rosas*) and Bede the Venerable (*Sed multo cautius necesse est acutis rosa in spinis quam mollibus lily colligatur in foliis multo securius in apostolicis quam in Platonicis quaeritur consilium salubre pagellis*). Although in a different context, the same metaphor appears in the hagiographic literature of eleventh-century Hungary as well: the legend of Saints Zoerard and Benedict by Bishop Maurus of Pécs (*ex rusticitate quasi rosa ex spinis ortus, nomine Zoerardus*).⁴⁴³

Gerard's approach is similar to that of the eleventh-century monk Otloh of Saint Emmeram, who also elaborated on the liberal arts and the metaphor of despoiling the Egyptians. Otloh's views on divine and secular philosophy show that he was not against the liberal arts themselves but against the misuse of these arts. He realized that many of his contemporaries were studying in the schools in order to achieve worldly glory through the reputation of secular learning: *Cum plures in schola constitutos agnoscerem, ad hoc quam maxime uacare, ut litterarum saecularium notitiam caperent, quae auditores suos studiosissime docent carnalia appetere, pro obtinenda mundi gloria contendere, syllogismorum et argumentorum subtilitates discere, ut quoslibet simplices cum uerbositate huiusmodi circumuentos possint irridere.*⁴⁴⁴ Otloh's explanation of the *spoliatio Aegyptiorum* makes it clear, however, that he does not consider the arts altogether unworthy, because even the Church Fathers adapted the valuable parts of the pagan heritage: *Sicut filii Israel quondam ex Aegypto profecti Aegyptios in auro et argento uestibusque pretiosis despoliauerunt, eaque secum deferentes ad honorem Dei posuerunt: ita unusquisque a saeculi uanitate ad spiritualis uitae puritatem conuersus agere debet. Si quam in saecularibus litteris notitiam habuit, eligat ex eis pretiosa quaeque, id est, honestae et spirituali uitae congrua dicta, illaque secum tollat tam ad laudem Dei, quam ad aedificationem fidelium. Sic enim multi uenerabiles sanctique patres fecisse leguntur, ponentes in suis scriptis plurimas sententias, quae uelut aurum in iure positum in libris gentilium reperiuntur.*⁴⁴⁵

⁴⁴³ CCCM 49, 33; Isidore of Seville, “Versus,” CCSL 113A, 213; Bede the Venerable, “In primam partem Samuhelis libri IIII,” CCSL 119, 121; Maurus, “Legenda SS. Zoerardi et Benedicti,” SRH 2, 357.

⁴⁴⁴ Otloh of Saint Emmeram, “Sermo de eo quod legitur in Psalmis,” PL 93, 1103.

⁴⁴⁵ Otloh of Saint Emmeram, “Sermo de eo quod legitur in Psalmis,” PL 93, 1116.

Granted, Otloh of Saint Emmeram preferred the experts of the Bible to those of dialectic (*Peritos autem dico magis illos qui in sacra Scriptura quam qui in dialectica sunt instructi*) and, symbolically, humble words to arrogant verbosity (*simulque attendat quod Deo magis placent rustica humilium dicta quam eximia uerbositas arrogantium, et in saecularis litteraturae pompa gloriantum*).⁴⁴⁶ Nonetheless, he advised that no cleric be promoted to priesthood without knowledge in the liberal arts (*Clerici liberalis scientiae nimis ignari, nullum sacerdotalem gradum accipere sunt digni*) because the pagan heritage also contributes to spiritual wisdom through divine providence (*Quaecunque spiritualis sapientiae uerba gentiles uiri protulerunt, haec ideo disponente Deo prolatas sunt, ut Christiani non solum a suis, sed etiam ab alienis instruerentur*).⁴⁴⁷ When it comes to artistic expression, however, Otloh resumes his apparent rigor, as in the following passage of his poem: *Forsitan ex aliquo quaerenda haec norma profano/ Ut sunt: Horatius, Terentius et Iuuenalis,/ Ac plures alii, quos sectatur schola mundi,/ Pro studio carnis carnalia dicta ferentes,/ Ut per eos nobis pandatur lex pietatis,/ Instinctu Satanae, qui promunt pessima quaeque?/ Haec ita nonnulli peruerso more fatentur.* This approach is the same as that of the contemporary Onulf, master of the Speyer cathedral, who reminds the reader of Saint Jerome's famous dream: *Perpende Iheronimum diuinae scripturae scientissimum, fidei catholicae doctorem constantissimum; perpende quid ei cum acerrime cederetur, sit dictum: Ciceronianus es, non Christianus.*⁴⁴⁸

Gerard's and Otloh's apparent ambivalence towards secular learning is deeply rooted in the patristic and Carolingian tradition. A commentary on Boethius, attributed to Bede the Venerable, reports that the fear of dialecticians made its way even into the litany: *Fertur etiam paecepisse quod in litania diceretur: "A dialecticis, Libera nos, Domine."* On the other hand, a passage in Hrabanus Maurus suggests that the precious parts of pagan philosophy are not only to be tolerated but also to be taken away from their unjust possessors: *Ecce de septem liberalibus artibus philosophorum, ad quam utilitatem descendae sint catholicis, satis, ut reor, superius diximus. Illud adhuc adiicimus, quod philosophi ipsi qui uocantur, si qua forte uera et fidei nostrae accomodata in dispensationibus suis seu scriptis dixerunt, maxime Platonici, non solum formidanda non sunt, sed ab eis etiam tanquam iniustis possessoribus in usum nostrum vindicanda.* Hrabanus Maurus' advice is no less than a verbatim quotation from Saint Augustine: *Philosophi autem qui uocantur si qua forte uera et fidei nostrae accomodata dixerunt, maxime Platonici, non solum formidanda non sunt, sed ab eis etiam*

⁴⁴⁶ Otloh of Saint Emmeram, “*Dialogus de tribus quaestionibus*,” *PL* 146, 60; Otloh of Saint Emmeram, “*De admonitione clericorum et laicorum*,” *PL* 146, 245–6.

⁴⁴⁷ Otloh of Saint Emmeram, “*Liber proverbiorum*,” *PL* 146, 306, 328.

⁴⁴⁸ Schauwecker (1963: 196–7). See Wallach (1950: 35–56); Evans (1977: 29–54); Resnick (1986: 165–78); Resnick (1987: 241–52); Munk Olsen (1996a: 7–16); Gäge (1999: 97–110).

*tamquam ab iniustis possessoribus in usum nostrum vindicanda.*⁴⁴⁹ Usually, even the books of an ecclesiastical nature could not be understood without at least some level of expertise in the liberal arts. As Notker Labeo, monk in the monastery of Saint Gall, expressed it in the early eleventh century, *artibus illis, quibus me onustare uultis, ego renunciaui neque fas mihi est eis aliter quam sicut instrumentis frui; sunt enim ecclesiastici libri et precipue quidem in scolis legendi, quos impossibile est sine illis prelibatis ad intellectum integrum duci.*⁴⁵⁰

While Gerard's use of his sources is generally indirect (and he never read as many authors as he refers to), the opposition of the classical and patristic tradition in the *Deliberatio* originates in the same literary convention as one can find in the works of his learned predecessors and contemporaries such as Otloh of Saint Emmeram. As is evident from his references to and critical treatment of pagan antiquity, Gerard possessed the knowledge that an average, but not better-trained, literate cleric could gain of classical Latin literature. His training is predominantly patristic, and his literary technique fits the Carolingian perception in which the representative authors of pagan antiquity and the Church Fathers are similarly considered *antiqui*. This perception is the continuation of the late antique grammatical tradition that called the classical Latin poets *antiqui*. Cassiodorus provides the same approach in his *De orthographia*: *Erit itaque propositum nostrum quae competenter modernae consuetudini ab antiquis tradita sunt quasi in unam coronam redigere et usui celeberrimo deputare.* The Latinity of the classical *antiqui*, however, had by the eleventh century become less and less apt to express the Christian truth. This is partly why the patristic sources are so important for Gerard.⁴⁵¹

Gerard is informed about the classics and secular learning primarily through the Isidorian representation of the seven liberal arts. His approach, however, is far from being Isidorian, because it seems quite contradictory in itself. Although the critical edge of his remarks is always there in the *Deliberatio*, this negative attitude is on the surface only. Nonetheless, it is strong enough to have influenced relevant scholarship for more than a century. Studies by Josef Anton Endres and others have classified Gerard of Csan, along with Otloh of Saint Emmeram and Peter Damian, as one of the representatives of the so-called antidialectic school: an opponent of secular learning, pagan philosophy, the seven liberal arts and the classical tradition. After Max Manitius reinforced the notion of Gerard's antidialectic character in his influential history of medieval Latin literature, the concept became a commonplace among historians of medieval

⁴⁴⁹ Pseudo-Bede, "Commentarius in librum Boethii de Trinitate," *PL* 95, 394; Hrabanus Maurus, "De clericorum institutione," *PL* 107, 404; Saint Augustine, "De doctrina Christiana," *CCSL* 32, 73. See McGuire (1953: 397–409).

⁴⁵⁰ Norden (1958: 682). See De Rijk (1963: 35–86).

⁴⁵¹ Cassiodorus, "De orthographia," *GL* 7, 145. See Hartmann (1974: 23); Kaster (1980: 216–41); Kaster (1988: 183); Brown (1996: 267–87).

literature and philosophy.⁴⁵² Many scholars favored the idea of Gerard of Csand the antidialectic author so much that they started attributing to him the first formulation of the celebrated sentence: *Philosophia est ancilla theologiae*. Falsely: the concept is of course there, but the famous sentence itself never occurs in the *Deliberatio*. As a matter of fact, it does not even figure in any of the so-called antidialectic authors. Franciscus Iacobus Clemens found perhaps the most relevant passage in Peter Damian: *Haec plane, quae ex dialecticorum uel rhetorum prodeunt argumentis, non facile diuinae uirtutis sunt aptanda mysteriis, et quae ad hoc inuenta sunt, ut in sillogismorum instrumenta proficiant uel clausulas dictionum, absit, ut sacris se legibus pertinaciter inferant et diuinae uirtuti conclusionis suae necessitates opponant. Quae tamen artis humanae peritia, si quando tractandis sacris eloquiis adhibetur, non debet ius magisterii sibimet arroganter arripere, sed uelut ancilla dominae quodam famulatus obsequio subseruire, ne si praecedat, obserret, et dum exteriorum uerborum sequitur consequentias, intimae uirtutis lumen et rectum ueritatis tramitem perdat.*⁴⁵³

Highlighting the eremitic tradition as an important factor in the development of the so-called antidialectic approach, some scholars have already attempted to reconcile the pagan and the Christian components of eleventh-century Latin literature. This resulted in a welcome switch of emphasis in scholarship.⁴⁵⁴ In Hungary, J. Lajos Cska argued that Gerard did combine the patristic tradition with pagan philosophy and the seven liberal arts, but it was his peculiar Latinity that resulted in the negligence of the *Deliberatio* in the Middle Ages.⁴⁵⁵ Drawing a parallel between Gerard of Csand and Peter Damian, on the other hand, Jean Leclercq examined Gerard’s vocabulary and concluded that the author was never a Benedictine, since the *Deliberatio* neither showed any resemblance to Saint Benedict’s Rule nor indeed presented any monastic values whatsoever. In general, Leclercq argued, the role of the Benedictines in eleventh-century Latin literature should not be exaggerated, since there were hermits living without the Benedictine Rule in the West. In particular, Gerard may well have come from the region of Venice and Ravenna, where various forms of eremitic communities existed and hermits kept wandering from one community to another in the late tenth and the early eleventh century. His later career as a hermit and a bishop in Hungary

⁴⁵² See Endres (1906: 20–33); Grabmann (1909: 215–24); Endres (1910); Endres (1913a: 85–93); Endres (1913b: 349–59); Endres (1915: 50–113); Fenczik (1918: 59–70); Manitius (1923: 74–81); Khr (1927: 305–19); Geyer (1928: 186–7); MacDonald (1933: 95–99); Curtius (1939: 171).

⁴⁵³ Kurt Reindel, ed., *MGH: Die Briefe der deutschen Kaiserzeit*, vol. 4.3, *Die Briefe des Petrus Damiani* (Munich: MGH, 1989), 354. See Clemens (1856: 15). See also Gabriel (1954: 25–33); Leff (1958: 96); Coppleston (1959: 146); Newald (1960: 201, 207); Gabriel (1962: 13–4); Lhotsky (1970: 336); Gyrffy (1977: 367–9); Bertnyi (1998: 108).

⁴⁵⁴ See Viscardi (1938: 159–70); Ghellinck (1948: 70, 93–6, 104); Capitani (1965: 122–63); Resnick (1990: 115–25); Resnick (1996: 1–11). See also Stock (1990: 103–12); Jaeger (1992: 141–68); Hartmann (1997: 73–95).

⁴⁵⁵ Cska (1967b: 9–27); Cska (1980: 48–51). See also Szennay (1980: 808–12); Szovk (2001: 35–47).

shows no connection to the Benedictine Order at all.⁴⁵⁶ The common lifestyle of Gerard and Peter Damian could have resulted in their similar perception of secular learning, which many scholars labeled antidialectic. Although Peter Damian had a far better training, both authors had some knowledge of ancient philosophy and the Latin classics. Otherwise they could not have criticized something of which they never knew. Through his predominantly patristic training, Gerard must have as well been aware of the significance of the classical authors. This is even more obvious in the case of Peter Damian, whose statements and prose style were shaped to a considerable extent by ancient philosophy and the Latin classics that he possessed in his Avellana library.⁴⁵⁷ Karl F. Morrison phrased the solution to this apparent contradiction of sacred and secular learning plausibly: “Damian embodied the liberal arts in the very moment when he argued that monks should not learn them.”⁴⁵⁸

It is now time to shift the emphasis: parallel to the antagonism of dialecticians and antidialecticians, the eleventh-century contradiction between *ratio* and *auctoritas* is an oversimplification invented by modern scholarship, usually based on popular and unfortunately very deeply rooted misinterpretations. The criticism of secular learning in Gerard’s case implied some knowledge of the seven liberal arts. However close the connection between the seven liberal arts and classical scholarship in the Middle Ages, Gerard was obviously not a classical scholar and did not have the classical erudition of a Gerbert of Aurillac.⁴⁵⁹ It is precisely the fact that Gerard did not belong to the top literate clerics of the eleventh century that makes him important as a representative of the mediocre scholar of his day. His treatment of the seven liberal arts in the *Deliberatio* suggests that the combination of despising and exploiting classical education is neither hypocrisy nor dissimulation, but rather a literary convention in order to prove orthodoxy and gain a scholarly reputation.⁴⁶⁰

Given its prominent significance in shaping Gerard’s language and style, one segment of his approach to the seven liberal arts merits a separate and detailed discussion: the role of ancient rhetoric in his *Deliberatio*. The subject is complex since the transmission of ancient rhetoric in the Middle Ages is an important aspect of both classical and medieval Latin philology. The *Deliberatio* provides an insight into a peculiar stage of the complex process of this transmission in the eleventh century. In addition to the nature of the transmission of the Latin classics, the classical sources of ancient rhetoric,

⁴⁵⁶ Leclercq (1971: 13–30). See also Labande (1973: 135–82); Leonardi (1993: 295–321).

⁴⁵⁷ See Blum (1947: 58–64, 129–34, 204–5); Dressler (1954: 62–3, 175–212); Gonsette (1956); Leclercq (1960: 168–76); Cantin (1975); Cantin (1997); Resnick (1992); Holopainen (1996: 6–43). See also Mohrmann (1958: 276).

⁴⁵⁸ Morrison (1983: 37). See also Meersseman (1958: 1–13).

⁴⁵⁹ See Richer of Reims, “Historiae,” *MGH: Scriptores* 38, 193–4. See also Wagner (1983: 1–31); Gasc (1986: 111–21); Lindgren (2001: 107–25).

⁴⁶⁰ See Nemerkényi (2001b: 215–23).

Cicero's *De inuentione* and Quintilian's *Institutio oratoria* infiltrated medieval Latin literature through mediators from late antiquity (Servius, Donatus, Priscian, Macrobius and Martianus Capella) and the early Middle Ages (Cassiodorus, Isidore of Seville and Bede the Venerable). Another classical work, the anonymous *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, also played an important role: it was commonly attributed to Cicero in the Middle Ages, due to its appreciation by patristic authors such as Saint Jerome (*Lege ad Herennium Tullii libros, lege Rhetoricos eius*). Due to some aspects of this mediation, certain features of ancient rhetoric did not go unnoticed in the *Deliberatio* either.⁴⁶¹

Besides providing an overview of the seven liberal arts, Gerard mentions Cicero and Quintilian and refers explicitly to the professional terms of ancient rhetoric, the branches of classical oratory: to the *genera causarum* (*demonstratiuum genus, deliberatiuum genus, iudiciale genus*) and elsewhere to the *genera dicendi* (*humile genus, medium genus, grandiloquum genus*). When he speaks about the *genera causarum*, however, he does so in order to emphasize the point that Christ did not need rhetorical training in the *genera causarum*, and the human *suasiones et dissuasiones* and that the philosophy of the Gospel makes the real orators: *non de mortalibus deliberatiuis, non de demonstratiuis, non de iudicialibus, que ad rethores pertinent, reddebat instrutus, quamlibet multo his maioribus peritissimus totus humanis suasionibus et distasionibus Spiritus sancti pistillo contunsis. Talis siquidem euangelii philosophia est, ut plebeios et rusticos concite faciat oratores, ad cuius culminis arcem nemo ex illis, qui bestiis simulantur, adire potest.*⁴⁶²

The threefold division of the *genera causarum* (demonstrative, deliberative and forensic) originates from the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* (1.2.2: *Tria genera sunt causarum, quae recipere debet orator: demonstratiuum, deliberatiuum, iudiciale* – and also 2.1.1), Cicero's *De inuentione* (1.5.7: *tribus in generibus rerum uersari rhetoris officium putauit, demonstratiuo, deliberatiuo, iudiciale* – and also 1.9.12, 1.10.13, 2.4.12–3 and 2.51.155–6), Quintilian's *Institutio oratoria* (2.21.23: *Aristoteles tres faciendo partes orationis, iudiciale, deliberatiua, demonstratiua, paene et ipse oratori subiecit omnia* – and also 3.6.81, 3.8.53, 8.pr.6, 8.3.11) and Martianus Capella's *De nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii* (5.447: *Haec igitur sunt tria causarum genera, quae hypothesi continentur, id est iudiciale, deliberatiuum et demonstratiuum*). In the *Deliberatio*, however, it probably comes from Isidore's *Etymologiae*, where not only the *genera causarum* match Gerard's text but also the elaboration on the *deliberatiuum genus* being a *genus duplex* of *suasio et dissuasio* (*Etymologiae* 2.4.1–3: *Genera causarum tria sunt, deliberatiuum, demonstratiuum, iudiciale... Deliberatiuum genus uocatur eo, quod de unaquaeque re in eo deliberatur. Huius genus duplex est, suasio et dissuasio*).

⁴⁶¹ Saint Jerome, “Contra Rufinum,” CCSL 79, 14. See Murphy (1974: 89–132); Bolgar (1982: 79–86); Reynolds (1983a: 98–112, 332–4); Murphy (1996: 629–38).

⁴⁶² CCCM 49, 82–3.

It should be pointed out here that the title of Gerard's work, although probably not by the author, is also *Deliberatio*. The antecedents of the relevant Isidorian passage include the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* (1.2.2: *Deliberatuum est in consultatione, quod habet in se suasionem et dissuasionem*), Cicero's *Partitiones oratoriae* (24.85: *Itaque cum constet genus hoc causarum ex suasione et dissuasione, suasori proponitur simplex ratio: si et utile est et fieri potest, fiat; dissuasori duplex: una, si non utile est, ne fiat; altera, si fieri non potest, ne suscipiatur*) and, more importantly, Cassiodorus' *Institutiones* (2.2.3: *Genera causarum rhetoricae sunt tria principalia: demonstrativum (in laude, in uituperatione) – deliberativum (in suasione et dissuasione) – iudiciale (in accusatione et defensione, in praemii acceptione et negatione)...* *Deliberativum genus est in quo est suasio et dissuasio*). The same system later occurs in Carolingian authors such as Alcuin (*Ars quidem rhetoricae in tribus uersatur generibus, id est, demonstratiuo, deliberatiuo, iudiciali...* *Deliberativum est in suasione et dissuasione*).⁴⁶³

Elsewhere, Gerard refers to other professional terms of ancient rhetoric: the *genera dicendi*. Although he mentions them explicitly again, he quickly goes on to argue that there is no need to speak much about them because his book is not being written to the ignorant: *Etenim perfectorum nonnulli trimodum dicendi genus uolunt in omnibus habere dictis, utique humile, medium et grandiloquum, denique eminentia dum sunt dicenda, granditer proferenda, parua autem subtiliter, et mediocria temperate. Ac per hoc nemo debet excedere modum suum. Hic autem non multum necesse habetur loqui de talibus: nec enim huic scribitur liber, qui talia ignoret, quamlibet non tantum ignorantibus, quam etiam optime scientibus dicta nos oporteat commendare diuina*.⁴⁶⁴

The ultimate source of the threefold division of the *genera dicendi* (humble, mediocre and grandiose) is also Ciceronian. The rhetorical rules that Gerard mentions echo Cicero's *Orator* (29.100: *is est enim eloquens, qui et humilia subtiliter et alta grauiter et mediocria temperate potest dicere*) and the term *dicendi genus* figures in his *Orator* (28.98), *De oratore* (2.23.98, 2.83.338, 3.8.30 and 3.55.211), *De optimo genere oratorum* (5.13) and *Brutus* (7.29, 29.112, 53.198, 54.199, 70.247 and 78.271), as well as Quintilian's *Institutio oratoria* (6.2.19, 8.3.14 and 8.3.56), Seneca's *Controversiae* (2.2.8) and Tacitus' *Dialogus de oratoribus* (19.1, 22.2 and 31.5). This threefold division appears in Cassiodorus as well (*Neque enim tria genera dicendi in cassum prudens definiuit antiquitas: humile, quod communione ipsa serpere uideatur: medium quod nec magnitudine tumescit nec paruitate tenuatur, sed inter utrumque positum, propria uenustate ditatum suis finibus continetur: tertium genus, quod ad summum apicem disputationis exquisitis sensibus eleuatur*).⁴⁶⁵

⁴⁶³ Alcuin, "Dialogus de rhetorica et virtutibus," *PL* 101, 922. See Wilbur Samuel Howell, ed., *The Rhetoric of Alcuin & Charlemagne* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1941).

⁴⁶⁴ *CCCM* 49, 34–5.

⁴⁶⁵ Cassiodorus, "Variarum libri XII," *CCSL* 96, 6.

The immediate source of this passage of the *Deliberatio*, however, is probably again Isidore's *Etymologiae*, where the *trimodum genus dicendi* is followed by the rules that Gerard mentions (*Etymologiae* 2.17.1: *Hoc est enim illud trimodum genus dicendi: humile, medium, grandiloquum. Cum enim magna dicimus, granditer proferenda sunt; cum parua dicimus, subtiliter; cum mediocria, temperate*). The *Deliberatio* is apparently addressed to a rhetorically trained audience, and it can be documented that Gerard has at least one reader who gets his point regarding the *genera dicendi*: Johannes Grünwalder, the fifteenth-century bishop of Freising, who writes a marginal note to this passage on fol. 31r of the Munich manuscript: *In omnibus tres modi dicendorum obseruandi sunt*. (A different tradition of the *genera dicendi* figures in Macrobius, *Saturnalia* 5.1.7: “*Quattuor sunt*” inquit Eusebius “*genera dicendi: copiosum, in quo Cicero dominatur, breve, in quo Salustius regnat, siccum, quod Frontoni adscribitur, pingue et floridum, in quo Plinius Secundus quondam et nunc nullo ueterum minor noster Symmachus luxuriatur*”, and *Saturnalia* 5.1.13: *Vis autem uide-re, quem ad modum haec quattuor genera dicendi Vergilius ipse permisceat et faciat unum quoddam ex omni diuersitate pulcherrimum temperamentum?*) The *Rhetorica ad Herennium* 1.2.3 provides further basic terms of ancient rhetoric (*inuentio, dispositio, elocutio, memoria, pronuntiatio*), but Gerard does not mention them, possibly because some of them are components of the orator's and not the writer's art. In addition, the same terms occur in Cicero (*De oratore* 2.19.79, and *De inuentione* 1.7.9), Quintilian (*Institutio oratoria* 1.pr.22, 3.3.1, 3.3.7, 3.3.8, 3.3.15 and 6.4.1), Martianus Capella (*De nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii* 5.442: *Iam uero partes officii mei quinque esse non dubium est; nam est inuentio, dispositio, elocutio, memoria, pronuntiatio*), Cassiodorus (*Institutiones* 2.2.2: *Partes igitur rhetoricae sunt u: inuentio, dispositio, elocutio, memoria, pronuntiatio*), Isidore of Seville (*Etymologiae* 2.3.1: *Orator est igitur uir bonus, dicendi peritus. Vir bonus consistit natura, moribus, artibus. Dicendi peritus consistit artificiosa eloquentia, quae constat partibus quinque: inuentione, dispositio, elocutione, memoria, pronuntiatione, et fine officii, quod est aliquid persuadere*) and Alcuin (*Artis rhetoricae partes quinque sunt: inuentio, dispositio, elocutio, memoria, pronuntiatio*).⁴⁶⁶

Gerard does, however, mention some of the classical parts of *dispositio* (*exordium, narratio, diuisio, confirmatio, refutatio* or *confutatio, peroratio* or *conclusio*). The *Rhetorica ad Herennium* 1.3.4 attributes them to *inuentio*: *Inuentio in sex partes orationis consumitur: in exordium, narrationem, diuisionem, confirmationem, confutati-
onem, conclusionem*. Gerard exploits the terms *exordium* and *narratio*, as well as *pro-
oemium, epilogus* and *eulogium*. His use of *exordium* corresponds to the relevant pas-
sage of Isidore's *Etymologiae* again (2.7.1: *Partes orationis in Rhetorica arte quattuor sunt: exordium, narratio, argumentatio, conclusio*). Some of these terms also occur in

⁴⁶⁶ Alcuin, “*Dialogus de rhetorica et virtutibus*,” *PL* 101, 921.

Quintilian (*Institutio oratoria* 4.1.28: *ut eo distare prooemium ab epilogo credam quod in hoc praeterita, in illo futura dicantur*, and *Institutio oratoria* 4.1.73: *Contra que est interim prooemii uis etiam non exordio; nam iudices et in narratione nonnumquam et in argumentis ut attendant et ut faueant rogamus*), Martianus Capella (*De nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii* 5.544: *nam est exordium, narratio, propositio, argumentatio, peroratio*) and Alcuin (*Sex enim sunt partes, per quas ab oratore ordinanda est oratio. Causae exordium, narratio, confirmatio, partitio, reprehensio, conclusio*).⁴⁶⁷

In the introduction to Book Six, for instance, Gerard asserts that his Biblical material has no *prooemium* and no *narratio* but can still be called *prooemium* and *epilagus* and *confirmatio* at the same time: *Contemplanda iterum nos exercitatos expectant non tantum illis, quibus oratio perficitur, quantum hoc, quo incomprehensibile comprehenditur quodque formis cingitur et a formis non tenetur; cui nec proimum praedicatur, nec narratio inscribitur, quanquam narretur dicique possit non solum proimum, quin etiam epilagus, quin etiam confirmatio, quin etiam ablatio optima, quemadmodum positio; in quo nil mediis repperitur, per medium enim non mouetur, ubique diffusum, in toto enim et a toto ipsumque totum; medium uero, a quo prima et media et ultima, longe a philosophorum mediis, quanquam sua uirtute hec*. Parts of Gerard's passage resemble the vocabulary of Martianus Capella (*De nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii* 5.544: *et in docendo tam narrationem quam confirmationem partis ascribunt, in mouendo autem prooemium et epilogum nexuerunt*) and the language of John Scottus Eriugena (*in toto amato, et a toto comprehendatur; super omnem ablationem et positionem*).⁴⁶⁸ The terms *epilagus*, *eulogium* and *narratio* figure several times elsewhere in the work too. Most of these terms are obviously Ciceronian (for instance Cicero, *De oratore* 1.19.86: *de prooemii et de epilogis* – and also Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria* 6.1.51: *in prooemio atque in epilogo*) but they probably reached Gerard via Isidorian mediation.⁴⁶⁹

It is significant that the very ending of Book Eight, the last book of the work, also features the term *epilagus*: *ideo octaua istiusmodi operis scedula consuetum epilogum flagitat: Sit nomen Domini benedictum, ex hoc nunc, et usque in saeculum. Amen.* The usual concluding formula of all the eight books of the work is this rhymed metrical prayer, based on Psalms (*LXX*) 112.2 (*sit nomen Domini benedictum ex hoc nunc et usque in saeculum*) and Daniel 2.20 (*sit nomen Domini benedictum a saeculo et usque in saeculum*), which is also part of the liturgy of the mass and the monastic office in a responsorial form (*Versus: Sit nomen Domini benedictum. Responsio: Ex hoc nunc et usque in saeculum*). The philologist János Horváth observed that this prayer serves as a stylistic ornament, but one might also add that it represents a return to the style of the *grandiloquum genus* at the closing of each book of the work. Psalms 112.2, on the

⁴⁶⁷ CCCM 49, 43; Alcuin, "Dialogus de rhetorica et virtutibus," *PL* 101, 929.

⁴⁶⁸ CCCM 49, 79; John Scottus Eriugena, "De divisione naturae," *PL* 122, 515; John Scottus Eriugena, "Versio operum sancti Dionysii Areopagitae: De mystica theologia," *PL* 122, 1173.

⁴⁶⁹ CCCM 49, 38, 92, 145.

other hand, is often quoted in a liturgical context, for instance by Cassiodorus.⁴⁷⁰

The special way in which Gerard interprets ancient rhetoric can also be illustrated with his use of the term *eloquium*, which occurs in the work an extraordinarily great number of times, in various cases in both the singular and the plural, always as a synonym for the Bible. His expressions *in eloquii ignitis Dei* and *ignita Dei eloquia* primarily rely on Psalms (*LXX*) 118.140: *ignitum eloquium tuum uehementer et seruus tuus dilexit illud*. The same Biblical phrase influenced the vocabulary of patristic and Carolingian authors such as Saint Ambrose, Saint Jerome, Saint Augustine, Arnobius, Leo the Great, Cassiodorus, Gregory the Great, Bede the Venerable and John Scottus Eriugena.⁴⁷¹ Gerard's other expressions (*eloquia ex eloquii* and *in eloquiorum castissimis uociferationibus*) are partly influenced by Psalms (*LXX*) 11.7 (*eloquia Domini eloquia casta*), which frequently figures in the vocabulary of patristic and medieval authors.⁴⁷² The expression *eloquiorum suauissime manaciones* has its parallels in Saint Augustine (*Nam eloquium tuum me delectat, quoniam grauiter suave est uel suauiter graue*), Cassiodorus (*Roma tradit eloquium, quo suauius nil sit auditum; diuini eloquii manare fecit fontes irriguos*), Alcuin (*sapientiae melle manans, et suauissimae charitatis luce redundans*) and Sedulius Scottus (*ueteris instrumenti scriptura in Romanum manauit eloquium*). It is significant that *eloquium* can denote both Roman rhetoric and the Bible in some of these patristic and Carolingian instances.⁴⁷³ Parts of the multiple application of the term in one clause (*triplicis diuine optima societatis eloquia iuxta eloquia per eloquiorum sagacem et intimam manationem*) reflect the vocabulary of Saint Augustine (*diuinae societati*) and Bede the Venerable (*propheticis intimaret eloquii*).⁴⁷⁴ The phrase *eloquia dulcia* has antecedents in both classical and early medieval Latin in Macrobius (*Saturnalia* 1.12.1: *eloquio tam dulci*), Bede the Venerable (*oblectaberis diuini eloquii dulcedine*) and Hrabanus Maurus (*quorum eloquium dulce est*).⁴⁷⁵ A specifically Biblical use of the term, *psalmicis eloquii*, may have been influenced by John Scottus Eriugena's Latin transla-

⁴⁷⁰ CCCM 49, 179; Cassiodorus, "Expositio Psalmorum," CCSL 98, 1025. See Horváth (1954: 115). See also Caplan (1933: 73–96); McKeon (1942: 1–32); Quadlbauer (1962: 15–7, 57–63); Murphy (1967: 334–41); Dickey (1968: 1–41); Ward (1978: 25–67); Prill (1987: 129–47).

⁴⁷¹ CCCM 49, 6, 93; Saint Ambrose, "De Ioseph," CSEL 32.2, 85; Saint Jerome, "Epistulae," CSEL 54, 166; Saint Augustine, "Enarrationes in Psalmos," CCSL 40, 1761; Arnobius, "Commentarii in Psalmos," CCSL 25, 200; Leo the Great, "Tractatus," CCSL 138A, 466; Cassiodorus, "Expositio Psalmorum," CCSL 98, 1120; Gregory the Great, "Expositio in Canticum canticorum," CCSL 144, 8; Bede the Venerable, "In Prouerbia Salomonis libri III," CCSL 119B, 142; John Scottus Eriugena, "Versio operum sancti Dionysii Areopagitae: Epistolae," PL 122, 1190.

⁴⁷² CCCM 49, 8, 11.

⁴⁷³ CCCM 49, 12; Saint Augustine, "Epistulae," CSEL 57, 505; Cassiodorus, "Variarum libri XII," CCSL 96, 392; Cassiodorus, "Expositio Psalmorum," CCSL 98, 1031; Alcuin, "Epistolae," PL 100, 201; Sedulius Scottus, "Explanationes in praefationes sancti Hieronymi ad evangelia," PL 103, 337.

⁴⁷⁴ CCCM 49, 26; Saint Augustine, "Epistulae," CSEL 34.2, 429; Bede the Venerable, "De templo libri II," CCSL 119A, 158.

⁴⁷⁵ CCCM 49, 28; Bede the Venerable, "Explanatio Apocalypseos," CCSL 121A, 367; Hrabanus Maurus, "Allegoriae in universam sacram scripturam," PL 112, 977.

tion of Pseudo-Dionysius Areopagita: *potentes psalmicorum eloquiorum cantus*.⁴⁷⁶ Another set of expressions (*a diuino Spiritu sancto inspirato eloquio, diuinitus inspirata eloquia*) also resemble John Scottus Eriugena (*praeter diuinitus nobis ex sacris eloquiis expressa*).⁴⁷⁷ The same expression of Eriugena's could also have influenced the following phrase of Gerard's: *et eloquia parabolice sunt prophetarum expressa*. The term *eloquia prophetarum*, on the other hand, is an established way of referring to the prophets in patristic and Carolingian authors such as Saint Jerome, Saint Augustine, Bede the Venerable, Alcuin, and Hrabanus Maurus.⁴⁷⁸ The term *celeste eloquium* is a common one in patristic and Carolingian Latin and appears in various forms, among others, in Saint Ambrose, Saint Augustine, Leo the Great, Alcuin and Hrabanus Maurus.⁴⁷⁹ One must note, finally, that the classical noun *eloquium* also denotes the Bible in the chronicle literature of medieval Hungary: *attestante sacro eloquio Prouerbiorum*.⁴⁸⁰

Apart from *eloquium*, Gerard also applies another technical term of classical rhetoric (*narratio*) to refer to the Bible: *diuinis narrationibus*. This application parallels the vocabulary of Saint Augustine (*diuini eloquii narrationem*) and John Scottus Eriugena (*in diuinae scripturae narrationibus*).⁴⁸¹ Furthermore, the term *propheticus sermo* occurs several times in the *Deliberatio*. As a reference to the Bible, this term is frequently used in patristic and Carolingian authors, such as Saint Ambrose, Saint Jerome, Saint Augustine, Leo the Great, Cassiodorus, Gregory the Great, Alcuin, and Hrabanus Maurus.⁴⁸²

Gerard's use of the technical terms of classical rhetoric (*eloquium*, *narratio*, and

⁴⁷⁶ CCCM 49, 44; John Scottus Eriugena, “Versio operum sancti Dionysii Areopagitae: De ecclesiastica hierarchia,” PL 122, 1106.

⁴⁷⁷ CCCM 49, 135, 148; John Scottus Eriugena, “Versio operum sancti Dionysii Areopagitae: De divinis nominibus,” PL 122, 1113. See Ziolkowski (1990: 15–38).

⁴⁷⁸ CCCM 49, 164; Saint Jerome, “Epistulae,” CSEL 55, 435; Saint Augustine, “De ciuitate Dei,” CCSL 48, 553; Bede the Venerable, “In primam partem Samuhelis libri IIII,” CCSL 119, 207; Alcuin, “Commentaria in sancti Joannis evangelium,” PL 100, 911; Hrabanus Maurus, “Commentaria ad cantica quae ad matutinas laudes dicuntur,” PL 112, 1160.

⁴⁷⁹ CCCM 49, 172; Saint Ambrose, “De interpellatione Iob et David,” CSEL 32.2, 280; Saint Augustine, “De sancta uirginitate,” CSEL 41, 255; Leo the Great, “Tractatus,” CCSL 138A, 328; Alcuin, “Compendium in Canticum cantorum,” PL 100, 645; Hrabanus Maurus, “Expositio super Jeremiam prophetam,” PL 111, 800.

⁴⁸⁰ “Chronici Hungarici compositio saeculi XIV.,” SRH 1, 242.

⁴⁸¹ CCCM 49, 79; Saint Augustine, “De Genesi ad litteram,” CSEL 28.1, 232; John Scottus Eriugena, “De divisione naturae,” PL 122, 818.

⁴⁸² CCCM 49, 14, 15, 26, 77, 95, 105, 118, 129; Saint Ambrose, “Expositio evangelii secundum Lucam,” CCSL 14, 266; Saint Jerome, “Commentariorum in Hiezechiele libri XIV,” CCSL 75, 11; Saint Augustine, “Sermones de ueteri testamento,” CCSL 41, 510; Leo the Great, “Tractatus,” CCSL 138, 166; Cassiodorus, “Expositio Psalmorum,” CCSL 98, 1220; Gregory the Great, “Moralia in Iob,” CCSL 143, 89; Alcuin, “Adversus Elipandum libri,” PL 101, 273; Hrabanus Maurus, “Commentariorum in Ezechiele libri viginti,” PL 110, 507.

sermo) to refer to the Bible fits into the patristic and Carolingian tradition. It shows that Biblical eloquence is more important than rhetorical eloquence in the *Deliberatio*, and this is why Gerard says that he has not imitated the *oratorum murmures et rethorum debachationes*. They prefer the charm of eloquence to the virtue of mysteries, unlike the prophets and apostles; the latter were rustics and fishermen, but the philosophy of the Gospel made them eloquent orators: *Non quippe secuti sumus oratorum murmures et rethorum debachationes, qui tantum uenustatem eloquiorum et non uirtutem misteriorum inmitantur*. Besides its classical parallel in the Ciceronian vocabulary (*De oratore* 3.16.60: *uenustate et subtilitate, tum uero eloquentia*), the passage resembles the language of Saint Jerome (*uenustas eloquii Tulliani*), Cassianus (*fidem potius mei sermonis quam uenustatem eloquii requirentes*) and Hrabanus Maurus (*uirtutem mysterii; eloquii uenustate*).⁴⁸³ In a different context, Gerard uses the same vocabulary when he condemns those *qui cottidie scurrarum debachationibus insistunt*. The classical etymology of the noun *scurrus* (jester, parasite) explains the word from *sequor*, following the traditional etymology by Festus (*De uerborum significatu* s.v. *Scurrae: aut a sequendo, cui magis adsentitur; quod et tenuioris fortunae homines, qui honoris gratia prosequerentur quempiam, non antecedere, sed sequi sint soliti*). Isidore of Seville adapts the explanation by Festus in *Etymologiae* 10.255.1: *Scurrus, qui sectari quempiam solet cibi gratia. A sequendo igitur inde scurras appellatos*. However, Isidore also provides another etymology of a slightly different variant, *iscurrus*, a late Latin form deriving from *esca*, in *Etymologiae* 10.152.1: *Iscurrus uocatur quia causa escae quempiam consecutatur*. In the celebrated preface to his *Gesta Hungarorum*, Anonymus later provides a passage similar to that of Gerard: *Et si tam nobilissima gens Hungariae primordia sue generationis et fortia queque facta sua ex falsis fabulis rusticorum uel a garrulo cantu ioculatorum quasi sompniando audiret, ualde indecorum et satis indecens esset.*⁴⁸⁴

The general theme of criticizing rhetoricians in the *Deliberatio* returns when Gerard addresses the secular masters who keep boasting of their training in the liberal arts. They should rather engage in debates with the illiterate prophets and the fishermen apostles: *Veniat uero ad prophetas, qui non litterati sed dominici rustici fuerunt. Disputet cum Petro et suis, qui non oratores sed piscatores extiterunt.*⁴⁸⁵ It is in this manner that Cicero, the uncontested master of Latin eloquence, becomes the symbol of rhetoric in both a negative and a positive sense, as an object of contempt and admiration. This ambivalence is an outcome of the underlying conflict between Cicero's reputation and

⁴⁸³ *CCCM* 49, 132; Saint Jerome, "Dialogus adversus Pelagianos," *CCSL* 80, 120; Cassianus, "De institutis coenobiorum et de octo principalium uitiorum remedis," *CSEL* 17, 6; Hrabanus Maurus, "Commentaria in Matthaeum," *PL* 107, 749; Hrabanus Maurus, "Commentariorum in Ezechiel libri viginti," *PL* 110, 675.

⁴⁸⁴ *CCCM* 49, 85; Anonymus, "Gesta Hungarorum," *SRH* 1, 33–4. See Pais (1953: 95–110); Falvy (1961: 29–64); Maltby (1999: 443).

⁴⁸⁵ *CCCM* 49, 152.

Gerard's purpose. In Book One, he warns that his readers would be able to follow his complicated argument only if they do not stick to the rules of Ciceronian rhetoric: *In hoc quoque nobis aderis, nisi brachis Ciceronis astringaris.*⁴⁸⁶ Later on in the work, however, Cicero becomes the model of an excellent exegete, to illustrate how difficult it is to interpret the Bible. Even if Cicero were a Christian, his effort would hardly succeed: *Nam si Tullius redderetur ex nostris uixque sufficeret conatus, uir diffusissimus et utraque lingua doctissimus.* The classical and patristic antecedents of the popular concept of being fluent in both Greek and Latin include Martial (*Epigrammata* 10.76.6: *lingua doctus utraque*), Saint Jerome (*Si quis eloquentiam quaerit, uel declamationibus delectatur, habet in utraque lingua Demosthenem et Tullium, Polemonem et Quintilianum. Ecclesia Christi non de Academia, et Lyceo, sed de uili plebicula congregata est*) and Cassiodorus (*Institutiones* 1.23.2: *in utraque lingua ualde doctissimus*).⁴⁸⁷

While distinguishing between celebrating human beings and appreciating their efforts, Gerard makes his case by pointing to the giants of ancient Greek and Roman rhetoric: Gorgias, Aristotle and Hermagoras, as well as Cicero and Quintilian: *Laudare igitur antiquorum ingenia et iure debemus, sed ad ueram laudem illius, qui sine cessatione laudandus est, et in cuius benedictione nullus est modus ponendus... Gorgia, Aristotiles, Ermachora Greci rethorice artis inuentores benedicendi? Tullius et Quintilianus acutissimi translatores eiusdem artis similiter? Nonne illorum studia potius censenda?* One of his terms echoes Saint Jerome's description: *acutissimus rhetorum.*⁴⁸⁸

Cicero is also a symbol of abundant verbosity, whose Latin translation of the Greek rhetoric is easier to admire than to understand: *etiam si in controversiis et insectioibus canine facundie praeualeat Ciceronem, qui totam argumentose rethoricam e Greco in Latinum transtulit, ut magis admirari quam comprehendi possit a lectoribus.* Gerard's expression *canine facundie* is clearly classical: it appears in Sallust's *Historiae* (4.54: *Canina, ut ait Appius, facundia exercebatur*). Sallust's passage is quoted by patristic authors such as Lactantius (*caninam illam facundiam, sicut Sallustius ab Appio dictum refert*), Saint Jerome (*canina, ut ait Appius, facundia*), Saint Augustine (*iuxta Appium canina exerceretur facundia*) and Isidore of Seville (*Antiqui forensem eloquentiam caninam facundiam nuncupabant, eo quod causidici in certaminibus causarum, omissis quae agunt, ueluti canes alterutrum sese lacerant iurgiaque causarum ad iniurias suas commutant*). The passage otherwise resembles similar sentences in Cassiodorus (*cum admiratione legendum est, quia nullus comprehendere, nullus sufficit digne laudare*) and Gregory the Great (*nisi ualde ammirari, quod ab eis non poterat comprehendendi*). Even Gerard's contempt and admiration, however, are bound to his sources, because

⁴⁸⁶ CCCM 49, 5.

⁴⁸⁷ CCCM 49, 38; Saint Jerome, "Commentarii in epistolam ad Galatas," *PL* 26, 400. See also Coens (1958: 118–50).

⁴⁸⁸ CCCM 49, 40; Saint Jerome, "Commentarii in prophetas minores," *CCSL* 76A, 655.

the last two passages, for instance, derive from Isidore of Seville's *Etymologiae* (2.2.1: *Haec autem disciplina a Graecis inuenta est, a Gorgia, Aristotele, Hermagora, et translata in Latinum a Tullio uidelicet et Quintiliano, sed ita copiose, ita uarie, ut eam lectori admirari in promptu sit, comprehendere impossibile*). In addition to influencing Gerard's *Deliberatio*, this Isidorian passage played an important role in the transmission of classical rhetoric in the Middle Ages.⁴⁸⁹

What Gerard elaborates on his own is the superiority of Christian eloquence over pagan rhetoric. For him, Saint Paul is more eloquent than any other human orator, including Cicero. Gerard at this point carefully inserts the adjective *humanis* in order to reserve the first place for Christ: *Non dubites Cephan Aristotile profundorem, non Paulum cunctis humanis oratoribus eloquentiorem, non Iohannem omni celo altiorem, non Iacobum tuo Plotio expeditiorem*. Besides the frequent use of the comparative adjective forms, this passage also reflects Saint Jerome's rhetorical comparison of ancient pagan philosophy and Christian doctrine: *Quid Aristoteli et Paulo? Quod Platoni et Petro?*⁴⁹⁰

Gerard might have had access to excerpts from and commentaries on the Latin classics, but his most important source was apparently the *Etymologiae* of Isidore of Seville with regard to his treatment of ancient rhetoric as well. However, he cannot be considered an Isidorian, let alone a Ciceronian: he is informed about some basic terms of ancient rhetoric, but he does not put them into practice to the fullest extent while composing his *Deliberatio*. His approach to classical rhetoric in particular is apparently just as ambivalent as his approach to the seven liberal arts in general. Although his main concern is the Bible, especially the *hymnus trium puerorum* in the Book of Daniel, he rarely misses an opportunity to explicitly relate his prose to the classical standards of Ciceronian rhetoric. Since his training is predominantly patristic, Gerard's approach can justly be compared to that of Saint Augustine, who was at first struck by the simple Latinity of the Bible: *uisa est mihi indigna, quam Tullianae dignitati compararem. Tumor enim meus refugiebat modum eius et acies mea non penetrabat interiora eius*. Gerard did not have Augustine's rhetorical erudition, but he also put the Latinity of the Bible into perspective: he related it not only to classical rhetoric, but also to his own peculiar Latinity.⁴⁹¹

Although there is only one manuscript of the work surviving and therefore it is difficult to distinguish between the author's Latin and the scribe's occasional errors in cases of difficult readings, Gerard's peculiar Latinity has long been subject to lexical

⁴⁸⁹ CCCC 49, 83; Lactantius, "Diuinae institutiones," CSEL 19, 551; Saint Jerome, "Epistulae," CSEL 55, 447; Saint Augustine, "Epistulae," CSEL 57, 303; Isidore of Seville, "Sententiae," CCSL 111, 312; Cassiodorus, "Expositio Psalmorum," CCSL 97, 637; Gregory the Great, "In librum primum Regum expositionum libri VI," CCSL 144, 402. See Heller (1943: 243); Mütherich (1971: 204–5).

⁴⁹⁰ CCCC 49, 12; Saint Jerome, "Dialogus adversus Pelagianos," CCSL 80, 18.

⁴⁹¹ Saint Augustine, "Confessiones," CCSL 27, 31. See Prestel (1992: 240–74); Prestel (1995: 54–64); Satterthwaite (1997: 671–94); Henriet (2000: 187–98); Roberts (2002: 41).

and stylistic analyses. Gabriel Silagi provided a detailed analysis of the linguistic features of the *Deliberatio*. Reviewing Gerard's original vocabulary, irregular grammar and orthography, as well as pinpointing the minimal role of prose rhythm even in the introductions to the books, Silagi's major highlights include the frequency of the following features in the work: words with the *super-* prefix; the *-ius* ending (for instance *solius*), also in adverbs of positive degree; *in-* derivatives; a preoccupation with long words, providing the impression of linguistic competence; vernacular influence on the vocabulary; inconsistent use of prepositions. One of the most striking features of Gerard's Latinity is the abundant use of superlatives that often contradict both grammar and logic. For instance, various forms of *inmortallissimus*,⁴⁹² *principalissimus*⁴⁹³ and *superoptimus* occur in the work several times.⁴⁹⁴ As Silagi notes, Gerard's use of these types of the superlative could show the primary influence of John Scottus Eriugena's Latin translation of Pseudo-Dionysius Areopagita. Consider the following examples: *principalissima*; *superoptimam*; *Trinitas superessentialis, et superdeus, et superoptime Christianorum inspector theosophiae, dirige nos in mysticorum eloquiorum superincognitum et superluculentem et sublimissimum uerticem*. These features of Eriugena's Latin also affected the composition of the letters of Fulbert of Chartres (*Denique ut participando superessentialia deitatis deus fias*).⁴⁹⁵

A brief survey of Gerard's preface to the entire work in Book One, the shortest one of the eight books of the *Deliberatio*, illustrates that his personal style only partly conforms to the clarity of Ciceronian rhetorical principles. The opening dedicatory sentences feature an elevated prose style, appropriate to Gerard's choice of subject, with numerous lexical peculiarities: *Erigendum in optimis ex consuetudine contemplationibus et admodum duris incitationibus circa uirium robور, licet nodosum ad quod conandum, per quod incedendum, amplectendum, minime uero, quantum pectoratim reor, quemadmodum potentes in theoricis aiunt, nec uero declinandum, quamlibet circulosum. Sudor enim in hoc omni sopore suauior aestimandus, praesertim cum diuinus processus cuncta confidat ad optimum respicientia perficere. Fateor uero me quemquam in hoc, quod examinandum postulasti, minime admisisse. Inde difficillimum sumas, quod ex continuo usu leuiter sonat, et pene ab omnibus intactum dimissum, quia assiduum, unde totum laboriosissimum. Deus autem meus... adiuuet sic me tue postulationi satisfacere, quo inimicorum laqueos possim euadere et tibi plenissime ad libitum obuiare.* (The end of this passage has a parallel in the chronicle of Thietmar of

⁴⁹² *CCCM* 49, 30, 131, 158, 171.

⁴⁹³ *CCCM* 49, 79, 153, 159, 168, 171.

⁴⁹⁴ *CCCM* 49, 12, 70, 101.

⁴⁹⁵ John Scottus Eriugena, “*Versio operum sancti Dionysii Areopagitae: De ecclesiastica hierarchia*,” *PL* 122, 1074; John Scottus Eriugena, “*Versio operum sancti Dionysii Areopagitae: De divinis nominibus*,” *PL* 122, 1126; John Scottus Eriugena, “*Versio operum sancti Dionysii Areopagitae: De mystica theologia*,” *PL* 122, 1171–2; Behrends (see n. 13, 2). See Silagi (1967: 63–84); Poirel (2001: 157–8).

Merseburg: *laqueos inimicorum mereatur inuisibilium euadere.*)⁴⁹⁶

Silagi notes in his critical edition that the incipit *Erigendum* has a twelfth-century parallel in the homily for the feast of the apostle Saint Bartholomew by Gottfried, abbot of Admont, whose opening sentence starts with the same word: *Erigenda nobis est hominis interioris intentio, et considerandum quid in se moralis suavitatis euangelica haec contineat lectio.*⁴⁹⁷ Gerard's use of the noun *incitationibus* has its antecedents in Cicero (*De oratore* 1.35.161: *Tantus enim cursus uerborum fuit et sic euolauit oratio, ut eius uim et incitationem aspicerim*, and *Partitiones oratoriae* 3.9: *motus autem animi incitatio*), Gregory the Great (*asperis incitationibus*) and Hrabanus Maurus.⁴⁹⁸ The phrase *circa uirium robور*, which also appears elsewhere in the work, is classical (Livy, *Ab urbe condita* 29.1.2: *florentes aetate et uirium robore*, Pliny, *Naturalis historia* 10.177: *uirium roboris*, and Tacitus, *Dialogus de oratoribus* 26.5: *ipsarum uirium robore*) and later figures in Saint Cyprian (*uirium robore*) and Richer of Reims (*uirium robore*).⁴⁹⁹ The expression *omni sopore suauior* resembles a line in Lucretius (*De rerum natura* 4.453: *Denique cum suaui deuinxit membra sopore*). One of Gerard's surprising word choices, or rather inventions, is the adverb *pectoratim*, which apparently stands unparalleled, at least in the Latinity of medieval Hungary. This word choice suggests that the author intends to be different from his predecessors not only in terms of his choice of subject but also in his language.⁵⁰⁰ The expression *potentes in theoricis* is also unusual, although various forms of the Greek noun *theoria* frequently figure in patristic and especially Carolingian Latin in the sense of theology, theory and contemplation (for instance in John Scottus Eriugena: *in theoria*).⁵⁰¹ In the sense of contemplation, the word *theoricis* corresponds to *ex consuetudine contemplationibus* at the beginning of the sentence, which in turn recalls Gregory the Great almost verbatim (*ex consuetudine contemplatio*).⁵⁰² The term *diuinus processus* is also peculiar. It appears earlier in John Scottus Eriugena (*per diuinam processionem, diuine processionis*). The scale of meaning of *processus* in medieval Latinity ranges from proceedings to method, trial and judgment, and even divine help. Nonetheless, the *diuinus processus* in the *Deliberatio* could also refer to the Holy Spirit.⁵⁰³ Compared to these expressions, the

⁴⁹⁶ CCCM 49, 1; Thietmar of Merseburg, "Chronicon," *MGH: Scriptores rerum Germanicarum* 9, 94.

⁴⁹⁷ Gottfried of Admont, "Homiliae in festa totius anni," *PL* 174, 990. See Vattasso (1906: 362).

⁴⁹⁸ Gregory the Great, "Moralia in Iob," *CCSL* 143B, 1684; Hrabanus Maurus, "Commentaria in Matthaeum," *PL* 107, 866.

⁴⁹⁹ CCCM 49, 73; Saint Cyprian, "Ad Demetrianum," *CCSL* 3A, 37; Richer of Reims, "Historiae," *MGH: Scriptores* 38, 169.

⁵⁰⁰ Bartal (1901: 479).

⁵⁰¹ John Scottus Eriugena, "De divisione naturae," *PL* 122, 502. See Du Cange (1846: 578); Maigne d'Arnis (1858: 2192); Finály (1884: 1982); Bartal (1901: 664); Souter (1949: 419); Blaise (1975: 913); Habel and Gröbel (1989: 400); Niermeyer (1993: 1020).

⁵⁰² Gregory the Great, "In librum primum Regum expositionum libri VI," *CCSL* 144, 100.

⁵⁰³ John Scottus Eriugena, "Versio operum sancti Dionysii Areopagitae: De caelesti hierarchia," *PL* 122, 1052; John Scottus Eriugena, "Expositiones in Ierarchiam coelestem," *CCCM* 31, 120. See Du Cange

use of the more common verb *obuiare* seems rather conservative: the verb's actual meaning is defined here by the context and especially the expression *ad libitum*, although *obuiare* usually figures in the meaning of resistance in medieval Latin.⁵⁰⁴

Gerard's stylistic devices in the preface include hyperbaton (inversion of normal grammatical word order in a sentence: *in optimis ex consuetudine contemplationibus, circa uirium robور, cuncta confidat ad optimum respicientia*) and antithesis (juxtaposition of contrasting words: *difficillimum... ex continuo usu leuiter sonat... assiduum... laboriosissimum*), where the superlatives elevate the tension between the two theses. The phrase *ex continuo usu leuiter sonat* resembles Gregory the Great (*Continuo usu*) as well as the poetry of Catullus (*Carmina* 64.273: *procedunt, leuiterque sonant plan-gore cachinni*) and Theodulf of Orléans (*Illa sonat leuiter*), the commentary on Donatus by Sedulius Scottus (*tam leuiter sonat*) and the letter collection of Fulbert of Chartres (*ne id bonum quod dominus suus leuiter facere poterat faciat ei difficile*).⁵⁰⁵

Given the length of Gerard's passage quoted here, the frequency of the occurrences of superlative adjectives and adverbs is extremely high (in the order of their occurrence): *optimis, minime, optimum, minime, difficillimum, laboriosissimum, plenissime*. This frequency results in homoioptoton (repetition of similar morphological endings at the closing of commata and cola, that is, phrases and clauses), which in turn results in homoioteleuton (similarity of endings). It is noteworthy that the following twenty words figure with an *-um* ending in Gerard's opening sentences: *erigendum, admodum, uirium, nodosum, conandum, incedendum, amplectendum, quantum, quemadmodum, declinandum, circulosum, optimum, examinandum, difficillimum, intactum, dimissum, assiduum, totum, laboriosissimum, libitum*. Consequently, every fifth word ends with *-um* in the opening sentences, partly because of the abundant use of the superlative neuter adjectives. These elements give the beginning of the work a stylistic significance.

After the stylistically elevated introductory dedication, however, a rhetorical shift follows. In classical terms, Gerard switches from the level of the *grandiloquum genus* to the *humile genus*, providing the following clauses, which are less elaborated than the ones in the preface: *In hoc primo uersiculo... In his autem et his, siue his... Deus uero boni conditor superadmittendus, non mali, qui creauit ualde bona... Himnus autem sacer:... Ergo hic laus, alibi superlaudatio*.⁵⁰⁶ The words with a *super-* prefix serve as tools of climax in these clauses. Various forms of the verb *superadmitto* appear nu-

(1845: 462); Maigne d'Arnis (1858: 1799); Finály (1884: 1581); Bartal (1901: 529); Sleumer (1926: 635); Souter (1949: 324); Blaise (1975: 736); Glare (1982: 1468); Niermeyer (1993: 855).

⁵⁰⁴ Finály (1884: 1350); Bartal (1901: 449); Sleumer (1926: 560); Souter (1949: 273); Glare (1982: 1230); Habel and Gröbel (1989: 261); Niermeyer (1993: 374).

⁵⁰⁵ Gregory the Great, "In librum primum Regum expositionum libri VI," *CCL 144*, 453; Theodulf of Orléans, "Carmina," *PL 105*, 351; Sedulius Scottus, "In Donati artem maiorem," *CCCM 40B*, 9–10; Behrends (see n. 13, 92).

⁵⁰⁶ *CCCM 49*, 2.

merous times in the work.⁵⁰⁷ The noun *superlaudatio* shows the influence of the Book of Daniel 3.53–4, which features similar constructions of the prefix *super-* and the verb *laudo*: *Benedictus es in templo sancto gloriae tuae et superlaudabilis et supergloriosus in saecula. Benedictus es in throno regni tui et superlaudabilis et superexaltatus in saecula*. The same Biblical passage influenced Gerard’s vocabulary several times (*superlaudatio, superlaude, superlaudant* and *superlaudare*). Furthermore, the same construction occurs in John Scottus Eriugena’s Latin translation of Pseudo-Dionysius Areopagita (*superlaudabilem et laudabilissimam*). Nevertheless, these constructions rarely occur elsewhere in medieval Latin authors.⁵⁰⁸ Gerard’s use of the noun *himnus*, on the other hand, fits the common vocabulary of medieval Latin perfectly: the word often serves as a shorthand reference to the song of the three boys in the Book of Daniel in the Middle Ages.⁵⁰⁹

The swift changes between levels of style can be observed in Gerard’s differing ways of referring to the same Biblical passage (Daniel 3.57): *in hoc primo uersiculo* and not much later *himnus sacer*. (A similar expression appears in John Scottus Eriugena’s Latin: *ad sacras hymnologias*).⁵¹⁰ Gerard quotes three admonitions from Saint Paul’s letter to the Ephesians (4.32, 5.2 and 5.3–5) and then refers to them in the following way: *in his autem et his, siue his*. Elsewhere, he says *hic laus, alibi superlaudatio*. These sketchy references are far from the style of the dedicatory sentences or the term *himnus sacer*.⁵¹¹ This characteristic ambivalence is apparent from this passage: *Hoc quidem Philipensibus in uinculis constitutus... in secunda Corinthorum inluminatione in uoce prorumpit dicens:... Hoc autem de laude. Quod amodo de superlaude, ut uera comprobetur ratio ex auctoritate dixisse:... Haec itaque, si fas uidetur, superlaudatio admittenda. Hoc autem quare? Nimurum dictum supra parum reliquimus, quia... Hoc itaque inuenies in Anania, Azaria et Misahele, quorum diuinissimum p[re]e manibus melodema, si te delectat, habetur... et cetera talia.*⁵¹² The expression *in uinculis constitutus* appears in Saint Jerome (*Iohannes mittebat discipulos suos in uinculis constitutus*) and Hrabanus Maurus (*euangelii in uinculis constituti*).⁵¹³ The expression *in uoce prorumpit* appears in Apuleius (*Metamorphoses* 6.17: *prorumpit in uocem subitam*) and Saint Augustine (*uoce prorumpit*).⁵¹⁴ The use of the noun *inluminatione* is

⁵⁰⁷ CCCM 49, 2, 12, 31, 32, 45, 55, 59, 65, 88, 146, 169. See Bartal (1901: 642).

⁵⁰⁸ CCCM 49, 2, 3, 5; John Scottus Eriugena, “*Versio operum sancti Dionysii Areopagitae: De caelesti hierarchia*,” *PL* 122, 1053. See Bartal (1901: 644); Souter (1949: 404).

⁵⁰⁹ Du Cange (1844: 738); Maigne d’Arnis (1858: 1144); Sleumer (1926: 394); Blaise (1975: 447); Habel and Gröbel (1989: 177); Niermeyer (1993: 489); *LLMAH* 4, 305.

⁵¹⁰ CCCM 49, 2; John Scottus Eriugena, “*Versio operum sancti Dionysii Areopagitae: De divinis nominiibus*,” *PL* 122, 1114.

⁵¹¹ CCCM 49, 2.

⁵¹² CCCM 49, 3.

⁵¹³ Saint Jerome, “*Epistulae*,” *CSEL* 56, 5; Hrabanus Maurus, “*Enarrationes in epistolas Pauli*,” *PL* 112, 704.

⁵¹⁴ Saint Augustine, “*De magistro*,” *CCSL* 29, 170.

peculiar again, because this word means many things in medieval Latin (vision, conversion or baptism) but rarely means a written work or a book in the New Testament.⁵¹⁵ The choice of *nimirum* is not an unusual one but it is significant that this adverb is one of Gerard's favorite connecting words. As such, keeping its classical meaning based on its etymology (*ni* and *mirum*), *nimirum* is also a common word in the vocabulary of medieval Latin.⁵¹⁶ The use of the Greek noun *melodema* presents a different case: its musical aspect in medieval Latin cannot be denied, but in Gerard's use it has an additional meaning, equivalent to that of *himnus sacer*, because it refers to a lengthy quotation from Daniel (3.19–21 and 3.24–7). The noun otherwise also figures in John Scottus Eriugena.⁵¹⁷ Gerard's style is elevated when he concludes the quotations from Saint Paul (*hoc quidem Philipensibus in uinculis constitutus*) or opens the Pauline quotes (*in secunda Corinthorum inluminatione in uoce prorumpit dicens*). He provides yet another stylistic shift after the quotation: *Hoc autem de laude. Quod amodo de superlaude*. His reference to his own earlier sentences (*nimirum dictum supra parum reliquimus*) shows little elaboration again, just like the conclusion of the lengthy quotation from Daniel: *et cetera talia*.

The next passage also consists of elaborate and less polished parts: *Ve nobis, qui quotiens magis principi obedimus quam deo, tociens statuam auream adoramus... Quid dico statuam adorare?... et multa infinita. Hoc autem de statua et appendiciis eius. Nunc de camino ignis dicendum, quem sancti potius appetunt quam praedicta.*⁵¹⁸ The use of the noun *appendiciis* is a lexical peculiarity again: it has a wide range of meanings in medieval Latin authors (tax, seal, sacristy or appendix). In the chronicle of the Hungarian *Anonymous*, for instance, it appears in the following context: *pro suo fidelissimo seruitio dedit castrum Bezprem cum omnibus (sic) appendiciis suis.*⁵¹⁹ The exclamation *Ve nobis* and the question *Quid dico* belong to the stylistically elaborate part of the passage, while the expressions *hoc autem de statua* and especially the *et multa infinita* leave the impression of a sketchy composition. Gerard closes the quotation from Psalms 61.11 with *et multa infinita*: expecting that his readers would be able to recall the remaining part of the psalm and leaving no doubt that he himself could go on quoting it forever. The *praedicta* is a simple substitution for a stylish elaboration, perhaps a stylistic device in itself.

⁵¹⁵ Du Cange (1844: 762); Maigne d'Arnis (1858: 1150); Bartal (1901: 316); Souter (1949: 183); Blaise (1975: 452); Niermeyer (1993: 509); *LLMAH* 5, 40.

⁵¹⁶ Sleumer (1926: 547); Glare (1982: 1178); Habel and Gröbel (1989: 254).

⁵¹⁷ John Scottus Eriugena, “Versio operum sancti Dionysii Areopagitae: De ecclesiastica hierarchia,” *PL* 122, 1076. See Du Cange (1845: 350); Maigne d'Arnis (1858: 1413); Bartal (1901: 415); Blaise (1975: 578).

⁵¹⁸ *CCCM* 49, 4.

⁵¹⁹ *Anonymous*, “*Gesta Hungarorum*,” *SRH* 1, 105. See Du Cange (1840: 330); Maigne d'Arnis (1858: 178); Bartal (1901: 40); Souter (1949: 7); Blaise (1975: 58); *LLMAH* 1, 202–3; Habel and Gröbel (1989: 21); Niermeyer (1993: 51).

An artificial conversational style characterizes the following passage, in order to keep the attention of the audience by addressing them directly and referring to their experience from real life: *Nemo dubitet haec ad iocunditatem uiri contaminatissimi tunc temporis in Babilonia instrumenta musica esse...* *Multi hodie non solum laicorum, quin etiam clericorum, ut meretricibus possint placere, uersantur in talibus...* *Quid autem?... Quur ad tanta deuenimus? Nimirum quia in superioribus diximus quod... In hoc quoque nobis aderis, nisi brachiis Ciceronis astringaris. Sed quid tibi?... ait.* The same superlative adjective also figures in Saint Augustine (*uita contaminatissima*).⁵²⁰ Different from the expressions *nemo dubitet* and *multi hodie*, the function of the questions (*quid autem*, *quur ad tanta deuenimus*, *quid tibi*) is not only to keep the reader's attention alive but also to connect Biblical quotations. In classical terms, these stylistic features represent the level of the *humile genus*, far from the *grandiloquum* composition of the introduction. The less elaborate reference *in superioribus diximus* is followed by a rhetorical twist: the mentioning of Cicero's name.

Not much later, the *grandiloquum genus* returns again with another unusual word choice: *Tripartite generale formulatim inspecto, iungamus insidenti, antequam nos hora praetereat, uerum quod in prima fonte benedictionum habetur, sacramentorum obscuritas non patitur concite de traduce cimam arripere, nec adeo etiam differre... ut Paulus uas electionis nobiliter demonstrat dicens...*⁵²¹ The word *formulatim*, similarly to *pectoratim* in the introduction, is unusual in medieval Latin.⁵²² Gerard's metaphor of making progress in the interpretation of a text (*iungamus insidenti*) is also uncommon, and it corresponds here to the elevated style of another metaphor in the sentence: *concite de traduce cimam arripere*. The expression *sacramentorum obscuritas* also figures in Saint Augustine (*obscuritatem sacramentorum*).⁵²³ Another trace of the elevated style is that Saint Paul (earlier quoted by a simple *ait*) is introduced like this: *ut Paulus uas electionis nobiliter demonstrat dicens*. This is a matching pair to this formulation: *in secunda Corinthorum inluminatione in uoce prorumpit dicens*. The Biblical antecedent of the epithet *uas electionis* is Acts 9.15, taken over by patristic authors such as Saint Jerome (*Paulus, uas electionis*) and Saint Augustine (*Apostolus Paulus, uas electionis*).⁵²⁴

In the following, however, there is another shift in style: *Vae itaque nobis, qui quoties saecularia appetimus et transeuncia, toties Deum prouocamus ad inimiticiam (sic) nostram... Quare?* The exclamation *Vae itaque nobis* introduces a sentence in the *me-*

⁵²⁰ CCCM 49, 5; Saint Augustine, "De ciuitate Dei," CCSL 47, 9.

⁵²¹ CCCM 49, 6.

⁵²² Bartal (1901: 279); LLMAH 4, 129.

⁵²³ Saint Augustine, "Enarrationes in Psalmos," CCSL 38, 96.

⁵²⁴ Saint Jerome, "Dialogus adversus Pelagianos," CCSL 80, 21; Saint Augustine, "Sermones de ueteri testamento," CCSL 41, 586.

dium genus but the question *Quare* switches to the level of *humile genus*.⁵²⁵ The same stylistic features appear later: *Quid dico?... A proposito autem recedens intromitto eloquia ex eloquiis, quo potius delecter tecum in officiis. Porro, si ais rabulatorem potius quam enucleatorem, in hoc conueniam, quod Dei sermo potestatis plenus est... sed ne oneri deputetur cumulatius quam examini optimorum dictorum pudica congressio, ad sulcationem conuertatur pristinam stiua.*⁵²⁶ While the passage reflects Ecclesiastes 8.4 (et sermo illius potestate plenus est), the repetition (*eloquia ex eloquiis*), the personal address (*tecum*), the word choices (*eloquia, rabulatorem, enucleatorem, sulcationem*) and the metaphor (*ad sulcationem conuertatur pristinam stiua*) serve here as tools of the elevated style. The plural noun *eloquia* refers to the Scriptures, as in many other instances in the work. In terms of vocabulary, *eloquium* often means sermon, prophecy or the word of God in medieval Latin.⁵²⁷ Less common are the nouns *rabulator*⁵²⁸ and *enucleator*.⁵²⁹ The noun *sulatio* in the closing metaphor occasionally refers to labor, including literary activity, in medieval Latin. The classical and Carolingian parallels of Gerard's metaphor include Ovid (*Fasti* 4.825: *inde premens stiua designat moenia sulco*) and Remigius of Auxerre (*uisitabis iustificando, et praeparando corda eorum ad sulcationem uerbi tui*).⁵³⁰

The next passage is an example of the stylistic level at the *medium genus*: *Denique sicut diuerso stilo, non uaria fide doctrine sunt sanctorum... Ut autem nos uera dicere, expediam quedam de talibus in praesenti, antequam nos hora praetereat, si cordi est opere.* The expression *diuerso stilo, non uaria fide* has classical, patristic, Carolingian and medieval parallels in Macrobius (*Saturnalia* 5.1.20: *stilos inter se diuersos*), Saint Jerome (*Una uia est ueritatis, quae dicit in euangelio: "Ego sum uia et uita et ueritas"* (John 14.6). *Et multae mendaciorum uiae, per quas nunc ambulasse arguitur Hierusalem, quarum uiarum Deus sciens differentiam, supra loquitur ad errantes: "Non sicut uia mea, uiae uestrae"* (Isaiah 55.8)... *Cognita igitur una uia regia, uideamus quae dextrae uiae sint et sinistrae, per quas prohibemur incedere*), Saint Augustine (*diuerso stilo, non diuersa fide*, quoted by Bede the Venerable), Hrabanus Maurus (*et alia atque alia diuerso stylo non diuersa fide scriptitarint*), Hincmar of Reims (*diuerso stylo, sed non diuersa fide*) and Otloh of Saint Emmeram (*Tres namque libellos diuerso tempore diuersoque stylo edidi*). These instances also involve the notion of the variety of style in classical rhetorical practice.⁵³¹

⁵²⁵ *CCCM* 49, 7.

⁵²⁶ *CCCM* 49, 8.

⁵²⁷ Bartal (1901: 239); Sleumer (1926: 299); Souter (1949: 120); Habel and Gröbel (1989: 128); *LLMAH* 3, 314; Niermeyer (1993: 370).

⁵²⁸ Bartal (1901: 553).

⁵²⁹ Souter (1949: 124); *LLMAH* 3, 335–6.

⁵³⁰ Remigius of Auxerre, “Enarrationes in Psalmos,” *PL* 131, 468. See Blaise (1975: 884).

⁵³¹ *CCCM* 49, 9; Saint Jerome, “Commentariorum in Esaiam libri,” *CCSL* 73A, 649; Saint Augustine, “De Trinitate libri XV,” *CCSL* 50, 33; Bede the Venerable, “De temporum ratione liber,” *CCSL* 123B, 265;

Gerard concludes an extensive enumeration of various types of heresy on the basis of Isidore's *Etymologiae* in the following way: *Laboriosum autem nimis est talium ineptias percurrere, et languidis lectoribus periculosissimum recitare*. The vocabulary of the sentence resembles classical and patristic authors such as Cicero (*De oratore* 2.85.346: *aut laboriosa aut periculosa*), Livy (*Ab urbe condita* 39.1.6: *laboriosa simul periculosaque*), and Saint Augustine (*ubi et dicere, quid sentias, periculosissimum et non dicere laboriosissimum et aliud, quam sentis, dicere perniciosissimum est*).⁵³²

Similarly to the introduction, the closing part of Book One, after constant shifts between levels of style, returns to the *grandiloquum genus*: *in eloquiorum castissimis uociferationibus... diuersissimos ex diuersitate... Quomodo?... Apostolorum uero lingua... Sed cuperem longius dicere. Hora autem nos expectat et cauma usquequaque conturbat. Quoniam in crastino ad insidencia nosmet extendere cupimus et rimari circa potentiam omissum optamus, ideo tali termino ex more lectionem concludamus: Sit nomen Domini benedictum, ex hoc nunc, et usque in saeculum. Amen.*⁵³³ The elevated style is apparent in Gerard's reference to the Scriptures (*in eloquiorum castissimis uociferationibus*), the way in which he quotes Saint Paul (*apostolorum uero lingua*), and the use of the nouns *uociferationibus* and *cauma*. The noun *uociferatio* is indeed a rare word, especially in the sense of the Bible.⁵³⁴ The Greek noun *cauma* occurs in medieval Latin but its use, instead of the more common *aestus*, *ardor* or *calor*, implies a stylistic input in the works of other authors as well as in the *Deliberatio*.⁵³⁵

Overall, the lexical and stylistic review of Book One shows that Gerard frequently provides sudden transitions into dry enumerations and short sentences, which sometimes leaves the reader with the impression that parts of the text in the Munich manuscript survive in a draft format, lacking the final polish by the author. This impression is reinforced by Gerard's vocabulary, orthography, morphology, syntax and style, which are far from the linguistic discipline of his sources and look peculiar by medieval and especially Carolingian standards, not to speak of classical ones.⁵³⁶ The sudden changes in levels of style, resulting in an uneven prose composition, represent Gerard's personal style, but it is still a question whether he wanted to adjust his own style to the standards of classical Latin rhetoric and whether these changes reveal what he meant by the ancient *genera dicendi: humile genus, medium genus* and *grandiloquum genus*.⁵³⁷

Hrabanus Maurus, "In honorem sanctae crucis," *CCCM* 100, 53; Hincmar of Reims, "De praedestinatione Dei et libero arbitrio posterior dissertatio," *PL* 125, 87; Otloh of Saint Emmeram, "Libellus de tentationibus," *PL* 146, 51.

⁵³² *CCCM* 49, 10–1; Saint Augustine, "Epistulae," *CSEL* 34.2, 509.

⁵³³ *CCCM* 49, 11.

⁵³⁴ Bartal (1901: 702).

⁵³⁵ Du Cange (1842: 255); Maigne d'Arnis (1858: 460); Bartal (1901: 113); Sleumer (1926: 197); Souter (1949: 44); Blaise (1975: 162); Habel and Gröbel (1989: 53); *LLMAH* 2, 75; Niermeyer (1993: 159).

⁵³⁶ See Mezey (1980: 590–8).

⁵³⁷ See Janson (1964: 134–41).

However superficial Gerard's rhetorical training, ancient rhetoric plays an important part in his work, which is basically intended for meditation. Is it an outcome of a mere coincidence or of the author's desperate attempt at refuting ancient rhetoric? Probable neither of these two. One can propose that it is Gerard's deliberate purpose to maintain this characteristic ambivalence that had a long tradition in medieval Latin literature. The life of Alcuin, for instance, reports that he regretted his preference of Vergil to the Psalms (*corde dicebat imo: ... si... plusque ultra Virgilium quam psalmorum modulationem amauero*). Alcuin, however, was decidedly ambiguous about the classics that seemed worthy of studying not for their content but for their language in order to produce Christian literature in decent Latin.⁵³⁸ This tradition was vital in the eleventh century as well. As Robert Black formulated it recently about Peter Damian, "he spoke as somebody who knew the enemy: he was one of the outstanding Latinists of his day..."⁵³⁹

As regards the classical forms of expression, Gerard may not have been an outstanding Latinist, or rather classical Latinist, of his day, but he was aware of the importance of ancient rhetoric to a considerable extent. For him, claiming superiority of the Christian doctrine over the philosophical statements of Greek and Roman authors was not the same as criticizing ancient rhetoric. He was therefore not only like Peter Damian but also like the mid-tenth-century Gunzo of Novara. Gunzo defended the liberal arts from the cheating *grammaticus* and responded in his letter to the monks of Reichenau to the claim of the monks of Saint Gall who maintained that he could not write proper Latin: *Haec strictim commemorauit, non quo artium prima ponerem, sed ut stultitiam indocti monachi reprehenderem, cui cum scientia abesset artium liberalium, maluit fraude grammaticus uideri, quam scientiam artium saltem extrinsecus adipisci. Est enim ars intrinsecus, est et extrinsecus. Infelix, quia intrinsecus fortasse artes non potuit, quare non saltem extrinsecus acquisiuit?*⁵⁴⁰

Gerard, on the other hand, obviously did not belong to the elite rank of rhetoricians or grammarians of his day either. Indeed, in his time nothing resembled the context of the public speaking of classical Ciceronian oratory. The sermons provided a completely different context and the rhetorician's craft was considered a scholarly endeavor, lacking most aspects of republican and even imperial Rome. Gerard's mediocre expertise in the liberal arts in general and in the art of rhetoric in particular is precisely what makes his work interesting as an example of what literate clerics with an average or modest training made of ancient rhetoric in the Middle Ages. Although a more detailed picture of the sources of his treatment of ancient rhetoric in the *Delibe-*

⁵³⁸ "Beati Flacci Alcuini vita," *PL* 100, 92. See Thompson (1948: 29–48); Wieland (1992: 84–95); Holtz (1997: 67–80); Farrell (2001: 14–6).

⁵³⁹ Black (2001: 181).

⁵⁴⁰ Gunzo of Novara, "Epistola ad Augienses fratres," *PL* 136, 1300. See Manitius (1911: 531–6); Foligno (1929: 94).

ratio is still to be drawn, one can already find Gerard's place in the ongoing discussion about originality in medieval Latin literature—in a setting where *imitatio* is more important than *inuentio* and where *aemulatio*, artistic rivalry and textual parallels are not always *imitatio* but rather a “shared participation in a heritage of literary composition.” Since Gerard's peculiar use of ancient rhetoric is everything but *imitatio* of the great authorities, he may not be an advanced rhetorician but as a medieval Latin author he is surely original.⁵⁴¹

A further important feature of the *Deliberatio* is the author's attempt at creating a fictive audience by the use of the second person singular. Preparing the text for the critical edition, Gabriel Silagi suggested that the work featured *die Fiktion des Dialoges*.⁵⁴² Through a close examination of the role of the addressee and the persons named explicitly in the *Deliberatio* and, more importantly, the function of the second person singular verbs and pronouns, a Latinist way of exploration reveals how this fiction of a dialog applies to the relation between orality and literacy in order to produce a fictive audience and how this literary convention fits into a wider linguistic and social context, and into the classical tradition. Before turning to the second person singular, one must observe Gerard's preface to his treatise. The title itself, in its present form probably not by the author, features the following dedication: *Deliberatio Gerardi Moresenae aecclesiae episcopi supra hymnum trium puerorum ad Isingrimum liberalem*.⁵⁴³ Already the dedication illustrates that Gerard had a circle of colleagues and disciples, very similar to that of the secular masters he was about to refute. The most important person in Gerard's audience is the addressee of the work: Isingrim. Previous research suggested that Isingrim was probably a Benedictine monk in the monastery of Salzburg and later abbot of Admont.⁵⁴⁴

From the point of view of identifying the addressee of Gerard's *Deliberatio*, numerous documents have hitherto been neglected. The several occurrences of various forms of the name Isingrim in documents related to Regensburg suggest that Isingrim might have come from that region. According to the *Traditiones Emmeramenses*, one or perhaps more witnesses were called *Isangrim* even in ninth-century documents.⁵⁴⁵ The Annals of Saint Emmeram in Regensburg mention *Isangrim*, who was appointed bishop in 933 (*Isangrim ordinatur episcopus*). Conciliar proceedings also mention this bishop of Regensburg (*Isingrimus Radasponensis sedis antistes, Isangrimo episcopo Ratisponensi*). So does a letter by Pope Leo VII, where one of the numerous addressees is Bishop Isingrim of Regensburg (*Isingrimo Retisponensis... ecclesiae uenerabilibus episcopis*). Arnold of Saint Emmeram also reports on Bishop

⁵⁴¹ See Kennedy (1995: 65–71); Haye (1998: 45–54); Westra (2001: 287); Ziolkowski (2001: 303).

⁵⁴² Silagi (1967: 13).

⁵⁴³ *CCCM* 49, 1.

⁵⁴⁴ Batthyány (see n. 315, xxvii); Morin (1939: 272–3); Csóka (1967b: 14); Silagi (1967: 5–8).

⁵⁴⁵ Anamodus of Regensburg, “*Traditiones Emmeramenses*,” *PL* 129, 929, 933, 939.

Isingrim in his enumeration of the bishops of Regensburg (*Tum episcopatus Ratisbonensis Asperto prouenit, cui successit uir magnae mansuetudinis et pietatis nomine Tuto, clarus ingenio; is habuit successores, Isangrimum, Guntharim, et Michahelem*).⁵⁴⁶

While these instances show that the name may have been popular in the Regensburg region and especially around Saint Emmeram, they are not contemporaneous with the addressee of Gerard's work. This is unlike a set of documents from Freising where the name *Isangrim*—*Isingrim* appears frequently, usually among the witnesses. A document written between 994 and 1005 contains the following: *Tradidit namque idem Ernust in manum episcopi et aduocati eius... ad altare sancte Marie sanctique Corbiniani perpetualiter existendum... Isti sunt testes:... Isangrim...* A document from 1022–1031 and two others from 1024–1031 mention a certain Isingrim as the *aduocatus* of Abbot Arnold of Weihenstephan. One of them contains the following note: *Nouerit omnis turba Christi fidelium, qualiter idem abbas Arnoldus per manum aduocati sui Isingrimi... ad altare sancte Marie et sancti Corbiniani tradidit.* It is significant that the occurrences of the expression *sancte Marie sanctique Corbiniani* in these Freising documents, containing the name Isingrim, resemble the twelfth-century possessor's note in the Munich manuscript of Gerard's *Deliberatio*, which belonged to the Freising library in the Middle Ages (*liber iste est sancte marie sanctique corbiniani frisingensis*). If the addressee of the work was from Freising, this would support the hypothesis, proposed by Zoltán J. Kosztolnyik, that the manuscript was intended to be a textbook for the Freising community. (It is still a question, however, whether the codex was copied in Hungary and how it arrived at the cathedral library of Freising).⁵⁴⁷

Overall, besides Salzburg and Admont, suggested by earlier scholarship, Regensburg and Freising should also be considered as the home of Isingrim, to whom Gerard dedicated his work. Of the titles of the eight books of the *Deliberatio*, seven stress the person of the addressee: *Item eiusdem* (that is, of Gerard) *ad eundem* (that is, to Isingrim).⁵⁴⁸ Gerard provides stylistically elaborate references to Isingrim in the third person singular (*nostro in fratre diuini collegii Isingrimo* and *breuiter Isingrimi mei dulcissime germanitati expediam*) that reflect patristic and Carolingian authors such as Saint Ambrose (*Quam fraterna pietas, quam dulcis germanitas*) and Alcuin (*dulcedinem uestram et germanitatem*). In a different context, Gerard applies the term *diuinum*

⁵⁴⁶ “Annales sancti Emmerammi Ratisponensis minores,” *MGH: Scriptores* 1, 94; Ernst-Dieter Hehl and Horst Fuhrmann, ed., *MGH: Concilia*, vol. 6.1, *Die Konzilien Deutschlands und Reichstitaliens 916–960* (Hanover: Hahn, 1987), 95, 120; Leo VII, “*Epistolae et privilegia*,” *PL* 132, 1085; Arnold of Saint Emmeram, “*De miraculis et memoria beati Emmerammi*,” *PL* 141, 1044.

⁵⁴⁷ Theodor Bitterauf, ed., *Die Traditionen des Hochstifts Freising*, vol. 2, 926–1283 (Aalen: Scientia, 1967), 201–2, 208, 216–7, 217–8, 219, 224, 226–7, 230–1, 238, 252, 252–3, 253–4, 256–7, 258–9, 261–2, 268, 268–9, 272–3, 274, 277, 281, 287, 291–2, 296–300, 301, 303, 305–6, 309, 450–2, 455, 456. See also Kosztolnyik (1969a); Brunhölzl (1992: 488–9).

⁵⁴⁸ *CCCM* 49, 1, 26, 39, 56, 79, 108, 135.

collegium to the three boys in the Book of Daniel (*Diuini quidem diuini collegii uiri*).⁵⁴⁹ This indicates that Gerard has a real audience in mind, one whom he usually addresses in the second person singular: *tue familiaritati* (reflecting Alcuin: *tuae familiaritati*),⁵⁵⁰ *tui similes*⁵⁵¹ and *tua dilectio*. The last address also appears in King Stephen's *Admonitions* (*tua dilectione*) and later in the chronicle of the Hungarian Anonymus (*Promisi et enim me facturum, sed aliis negotiis impeditus et tue petitionis et mee promissionis iam pene eram oblitus, nisi mihi per litteras tua dilectio debitum reddere monuisset. Memor igitur tue dilectionis... facere tamen aggressus sum, que facere iussisti.*)⁵⁵²

In Gerard's preface, one also discovers the modest literary conventions of *recusatio*: *quod examinandum postulasti... difficillimum sumas... tue postulationi satisfacere... tibi plenissime ad libitum obuiare*. Similar literary conventions of *recusatio* are characteristic in Saint Jerome (*desiderio postulantis satisfacere*) and Cassiodorus (*desiderio satisfaciat postulantis*), and also in Arnold of Saint Emmeram (*Sin uero satisfactum fuerit postulationi meae*).⁵⁵³ The convention of combining modesty with the satisfaction of a friend's demand figures later in the work as well: *tibi... supra potentiam satisfaciam* and *instigatus a te ipso*. Gerard also admits that Isingrim could have entertained the Biblical subject a lot better (*accessi ad carmen misteriale, quoquo modo desiderans inuestigare, quod tu mirabilius solius cordi esset, quiueras perlibare*), since he is also interested in interpreting the Bible: *te quoque auidum talium reseracione non dubito*. (The term *reseratio* also occurs in John Scottus Eriugena's Latin translation of and commentary on Pseudo-Dionysius Areopagita in similar contexts: *Etenim habere theologicos characteres, et diuinorum nominum reserationem breuiorrem uerbis esse symbolica theologia; pauca de pluribus propter presentis periodi reserationem pregustabimus.*)⁵⁵⁴

In addition to Isingrim, Gerard names three more contemporaries among his audience: Presbyter Dodo, Brother Andrew and Abbot Richard. Presbyter Dodo is otherwise completely unknown so far. Gerard sent some books with him to Isingrim: *sive te enim ex parte haec non ambigo quondam per presbiterum Dodonem a nobis accepisse.*

⁵⁴⁹ CCCM 49, 27, 29, 148; Saint Ambrose, "De Ioseph," CSEL 32.2, 115; Alcuin, "Epistolae," PL 100, 244.

⁵⁵⁰ CCCM 49, 43; Alcuin, "Epistolae," PL 100, 263.

⁵⁵¹ CCCM 49, 45.

⁵⁵² CCCM 49, 148; "Libellus de institutione morum," SRH 2, 624; Anonymus, "Gesta Hungarorum," SRH 1, 33.

⁵⁵³ CCCM 49, 1; Saint Jerome, "Epistulae," CSEL 55, 434; Cassiodorus, "Expositio Psalmorum," CCSL 97, 133; Arnold of Saint Emmeram, "De miraculis et memoria beati Emmerammi," PL 141, 1088. See Janson (1964: 134–41).

⁵⁵⁴ CCCM 49, 28, 32, 38, 43; John Scottus Eriugena, "Versio operum sancti Dionysii Areopagitae: De mystica theologia," PL 122, 1175; John Scottus Eriugena, "Expositiones in Ierarchiam coelestem," CCCM 31, 11.

(It should be noted here that the contemporary *Necrologium ecclesiae beatae Mariae Carnotensis*, surviving in a Chartres manuscript from Bishop Fulbert's day, records the death of a certain Presbyter Dodo: *Obiit Dodo, presbiter et canonicus Sancte Marie.*)⁵⁵⁵

Gerard writes about Brother Andrew in the following context: *Te autem auidissimum sciens de omnibus auditorem, immo et prestantissimum relatorem, potius ab aliis quam a tuis grataanter subducari, quamlibet sanctus noster frater Andreas a nostro semper in hoc ipso collo dependat, cuius nimirum imperio non satisfacere delinquere non mediocriter est, et tandem quod iussisti, de omnibus nos interim cogit silere sibi-que solius impensum impendere, ne quidem tue impensu caream gratie.* (Gerard's clause of modesty here reflects that of Cassiodorus: *quatinus et nostro imperio et uestrae utilitati satisfecisse uideamini.*)⁵⁵⁶ Brother Andrew keeps bothering Gerard to write another work, but the author would rather fulfill the request of Isingrim, perhaps because he had already composed a booklet for Andrew: the *De diuino patrimonio* (*Supra autem hoc in libello de diuino patrimonio, quem nuperrime in tabellis solius ad Andream diuinum fratrem exemplicaui*). It has recently been suggested that Brother Andrew might have been identical with the martyr hermit Saint Zoerard-Andrew, whose legend was written by Bishop Maurus of Pécs in the mid-eleventh century.⁵⁵⁷

Gerard's third acquaintance mentioned explicitly in the *Deliberatio* is the learned Abbot Richard: *In libello autem, quem ad Andream presbiterum diuine germanitatis uirum de diuino patrimonio expressimus, qui nunc apud abbatem Richardum, incontaminatum Christi famulum diuinitus eruditum, est, de istiusmodi tam nudatione quam reseratione latissime anno preterito disputauimus, ideo non inmorandum, precipue cum nos iam stilus fatiget.*⁵⁵⁸ The expression *latissime... disputauimus* appears elsewhere in the *Deliberatio* too (*De hoc autem in prima sedula latissime disputatum est*) and it reflects Saint Jerome (*de quibus in alio opere latissime disputauit*) and Saint Augustine (*latissime disputatur*). Abbot Richard, whom Gerard calls *diuinitus eruditum* (a term from John Scottus Eriugena's Latin translation of Pseudo-Dionysius Areopagita again: *diuinitus eruditus*), was apparently in possession of Gerard's work *De diuino patrimonio* during the composition of the *Deliberatio*. It is grammatically ambivalent in Gerard's sentence whether the pronoun *qui* refers to the *libellus* or to

⁵⁵⁵ CCCC 49, 32; René Merlet and Alexandre Clerval, ed., *Un manuscrit chartrain du XI^e siècle* (Chartres: Garnier, 1893), 149, 170. See also Silagi (1967: 9).

⁵⁵⁶ CCCC 49, 140–1; Cassiodorus, "Variarum libri XII," CCSL 96, 263.

⁵⁵⁷ CCCC 49, 153; Maurus, "Legenda SS. Zoerardi et Benedicti," SRH 2, 347–61. See Béla Karácsonyi and László Szegfű, ed., *Deliberatio Gerardi Moresanae aecclesiae episcopi supra hymnum trium puerorum* (Szeged: Scriptum, 1999), xi.

⁵⁵⁸ CCCC 49, 178.

*Andreas.*⁵⁵⁹ Previous scholarship identified Richard with Abbot Richard of Saint Vannes in Verdun. Reported by Ademar of Chabannes and others, Richard traveled to the Holy Land via Hungary, where he may have met not only King Stephen but also Gerard himself. (If the meeting indeed took place in 1026, it happened before Gerard was appointed bishop of Csand in 1030.)⁵⁶⁰

Consequently, Isingrim, Dodo, Andrew and Richard can be considered Gerard’s real immediate audience; he mentions them in the *Deliberatio* apparently at random. The extraordinarily great number of occurrences of the second person singular in the work, however, raises the question whether they were the author’s only targeted audience. Without considering his numerous Biblical and patristic quotations, Gerard’s own words, mainly verbs, in the second person singular reveal much of his attitude towards his audience. In a conversational fashion, he uses the present imperative active *uide* four times.⁵⁶¹ Parallel to this, he also writes *si uis aspicere ad hec*.⁵⁶² Besides the image of looking, however, the metaphor of intellectual attention is rather expressed with various forms of the verb *audio*. Its perfect indicative active, *audisti*, occurs twenty-six times in the work.⁵⁶³ Influenced by the Bible, this form appears many times in the expression *dictum audisti*, modeled on Jesus’ Sermon on the Mount in the Gospel according to Matthew (5.21, 5.27, 5.33, 5.38 and 5.43). Just as Jesus was delivering a sermon, so Gerard maintains the fiction of an oral discourse.⁵⁶⁴ He also features the ablative absolute construction *te audiente*. The rare instances of this ablative absolute in classical and Carolingian Latin include Cicero’s *Brutus* 11.44 and the letters of Hincmar of Reims.⁵⁶⁵

The conversational style of the literary piece is even more plausible in the following sentence: *Terribile autem totum quod dicitur, mihi crede, beatissime frater. Ex Deo nimirum non peribentur, qui de mundo loquuntur, ut tua beatissima auris audiuit.*⁵⁶⁶ The rhetorical question *uis audire* appears twenty-four times throughout the work. (The *audire* on the margin of fol. 53r of the manuscript is written by a corrector’s hand.) The same rhetorical question often appears in classical Latin (Plautus, *Mercator* 886, Cicero, *Tusculanae disputationes* 1.32.77, Horace, *Epistulae* 1.1.48, Ovid, *Ex*

⁵⁵⁹ CCCM 49, 61; Saint Jerome, “Commentarioli in Psalms,” CCSL 72, 177; Saint Augustine, “Contra secundam Juliani responsionem,” PL 45, 1440; John Scottus Eriugena, “Versio operum sancti Dionysii Areopagitae: De ecclesiastica hierarchia,” PL 122, 1077.

⁵⁶⁰ Ademar of Chabannes, “Chronicon,” CCCM 129, 184; CFHH 1–3, 15–7, 1200–2, 2613. See Sackur (1886: 93–8); Eckhardt (1936: 38); Birks (1948: 8); Southern (1993: 52–3); Landes (1995: 157); Veszpremy (2003: 459–67). See also Turcan-Verkerk (1992: 157–203).

⁵⁶¹ CCCM 49, 13, 15, 141, 166.

⁵⁶² CCCM 49, 140.

⁵⁶³ CCCM 49, 7, 7, 8, 10, 16, 17, 20, 21, 21, 24, 41, 45, 61, 65, 66, 69, 73, 75, 137, 141, 142, 144, 169, 171, 175.

⁵⁶⁴ CCCM 49, 7, 17, 41, 65.

⁵⁶⁵ CCCM 49, 20; Hincmar of Reims, “Epistolae,” PL 126, 556.

⁵⁶⁶ CCCM 49, 16.

Ponto 4.3.11, Curtius Rufus, *Historiae Alexandri magni* 7.1.28 and 9.3.6, Martial, *Epigrammata* 14.198.1, and Macrobius, *Saturnalia* 5.1.8), as well as in patristic and medieval Latin.⁵⁶⁷ Both the present indicative active *audis*⁵⁶⁸ and the present imperative active *audi* occur ten times in the *Deliberatio*.⁵⁶⁹ Resembling a dialog between master and disciple, five of these imperative forms appear in the expression *si queris... audi*. The same expression occurs in Saint Ambrose, Cassiodorus, and John Scottus Eriugena.⁵⁷⁰ A parallel to this is the expression *si queris... disce*, which occurs seven times in the text.⁵⁷¹ Another variant, *si queris... recurre*, is also used.⁵⁷²

One of the quasi-conversational sentences sounds like this: *Quam, inquis? Si queris, audi solius, intente considera et hanc doctrinam scribe in tabulis cordis tui*. Gerard employs the phrase elsewhere too: *In tabulis cordis digito maiestatis*. Its Biblical parallels are Proverbs 3.3 (*describe in tabulis cordis tui*), Proverbs 7.3 (*liga eam in digitis tuis, scribe illam in tabulis cordis tui*), and 2 Corinthians 3.3 (*in tabulis cordis carnabilibus*).⁵⁷³ Further subjunctives and imperatives requiring the attention of the audience include *aduertas* (along with *ausculta*), *aduerte* and *animaduerte*.⁵⁷⁴ Other aspects of orality can be discerned in the use of the present subjunctive passive *audiaris*: *Audi... ut audiaris*. This present subjunctive passive occurs earlier in Saint Ambrose: *Ergo etiamsi in te uerbum dei sit, et tacebis in dei uerbo et tacitus clamabis, ut audiaris a Christo*.⁵⁷⁵

Gerard's audience, however, is not a passive one. The author himself formulates some questions on behalf of his partner, and the introduction to these sentences is six times *inquis*.⁵⁷⁶ The fiction of a dialog appears here very clearly: *Quur talia in dictis prosequeris, inquis?* The phrase has classical, patristic and Carolingian antecedents in Vergil (*Aeneis* 6.898: *prosequitur dictis*), Lactantius (*dictis prosequebatur*), and Walafrid Strabo (quoting Vergil).⁵⁷⁷ The indicative form *dicis* (one of them addressing John the apostle: *Quid loqueris, Iohannes? Tu illos doces, dicis tamen...*)⁵⁷⁸ and the

⁵⁶⁷ CCCM 49, 18, 20, 48, 55, 57, 89, 119, 121, 122, 124, 124, 124, 126, 126, 126, 127, 127, 129, 130, 141, 144, 161, 162, 164.

⁵⁶⁸ CCCM 49, 12, 26, 52, 53, 62, 62, 141, 163, 163, 176.

⁵⁶⁹ CCCM 49, 7, 11, 19, 20, 23, 88, 142, 145, 152, 173.

⁵⁷⁰ CCCM 49, 7, 20, 88, 142, 145; Saint Ambrose, “Epistularum liber decimus,” CSEL 82.3, 130; Cassiodorus, “Expositio Psalmorum,” CCSL 98, 1033; John Scottus Eriugena, “Expositiones in Ierarchiam coelestem,” CCCM 31, 5.

⁵⁷¹ CCCM 49, 12, 17, 19, 24, 142, 152, 173.

⁵⁷² CCCM 49, 15.

⁵⁷³ CCCM 49, 145, 177.

⁵⁷⁴ CCCM 49, 27, 62, 91.

⁵⁷⁵ CCCM 49, 173; Saint Ambrose, “Explanatio Psalmorum XII,” CSEL 64, 189.

⁵⁷⁶ CCCM 49, 8, 11, 88, 145, 145, 162.

⁵⁷⁷ CCCM 49, 8; Lactantius, “Diuinae institutiones,” CSEL 19, 110; Walafrid Strabo, “De visionibus Wettini,” PL 114, 1076.

⁵⁷⁸ CCCM 49, 16, 90, 166.

subjunctive *dicas* figure three and four times respectively.⁵⁷⁹ Gerard also uses the terms *inuenis*⁵⁸⁰ and *inuenies*. One of the latter appears in the clause *et tunc nos plenissime ueraces inuenies*, showing the influence of Ecclesiasticus 15.8: *et uiri ueraces inueniuntur*. Whereas the present tense is read only once, the future occurs nine times.⁵⁸¹ Another frequently used expression of the author's is *non/ne/nec dubites*: it appears sixteen times in the work.⁵⁸² The exceptional use of the same verb in the third person singular, *ut nemo dubitaret*, just proves the rule, namely that Gerard generally uses the second person singular even in these sorts of insertion.⁵⁸³ Similarly, he three times applies the subjunctive form *non/nec/nil estimes*.⁵⁸⁴ Apart from these typical uses of the verbs in the second person singular, although there are many more, one should also refer to the instances of the present form *deliberas* and the imperative *delibera*, since the title of the work itself is also *Deliberatio*, and the various forms and derivatives of the verb carry a meaning charged with strong connotations to a classical technical term of ancient rhetoric, the *deliberatuum genus* of the *genera causarum*.⁵⁸⁵ Finally, it is significant that Gerard, excerpting the *Institutiones* of Cassiodorus (1.16.2), inserts an expression into the adapted passage: *ut doctus es*. Thus, he is definitely adjusting the excerpt from Cassiodorus to his own conversational style: *Istas sic quidem litteras, ut doctus es, non ratio humana repperit*.⁵⁸⁶

In addition to the verbs, there is an abundance of pronouns in the second person singular. Various cases of the personal pronouns read twenty-three times,⁵⁸⁷ while those of the possessive pronouns appear thirteen times.⁵⁸⁸ Of the latter, the pronoun *tuus* often has an ironic overtone apparently directed against the likes of Isingrim the *liberalis*, along with all dialecticians and representatives of secular learning: *tuusque Socrates* and *tuus Porphyrius*.⁵⁸⁹ This ironic attitude is also reflected in his sharp remarks: *In hoc quoque nobis aderis, nisi brachiis Ciceronis astringaris* and *nisi Crisippus obstaculum tibi fiat*.⁵⁹⁰ Gerard states explicitly, however, that he is addressing a learned audience: *Nec enim huic scribitur liber, qui talia ignoret, quamlibet non tantum ignorantibus, quam etiam optime scientibus dicta nos oporteat commendare diuina*. This formulation has a double implication: it shows that Gerard's attitude towards

⁵⁷⁹ CCCM 49, 12, 30, 69, 115.

⁵⁸⁰ CCCM 49, 63.

⁵⁸¹ CCCM 49, 3, 8, 9, 13, 15, 18, 19, 20, 24.

⁵⁸² CCCM 49, 12, 13, 14, 15, 26, 29, 30, 37, 44, 54, 81, 89, 103, 142, 167.

⁵⁸³ CCCM 49, 30.

⁵⁸⁴ CCCM 49, 13, 51, 89.

⁵⁸⁵ CCCM 49, 21, 146.

⁵⁸⁶ CCCM 49, 149.

⁵⁸⁷ CCCM 49, 1, 3, 5, 8, 13, 20, 27, 28, 32, 32, 33, 38, 39, 43, 55, 62, 66, 68, 85, 85, 140, 154, 157.

⁵⁸⁸ CCCM 49, 1, 16, 32, 33, 40, 40, 43, 45, 70, 140, 141, 145, 148.

⁵⁸⁹ CCCM 49, 33, 40.

⁵⁹⁰ CCCM 49, 5, 13.

secular learning is at least ambivalent and, more importantly, that his audience does not consist of Isingrim alone.⁵⁹¹ The second person plural possessive pronouns also appear in his *Deliberatio* in the context of secular learning when he indirectly quotes the pagan Roman authors Terence (*Unus autem ex uestris*) and Lucretius (*Unus autem uestrum*) via Isidorian mediation (*Etymologiae* 1.36.3, 2.9.11, 2.11.1, 2.21.14 and 13.4.3).⁵⁹² In contrast, Gerard also uses the first person plural, probably referring to Saint Jerome: *unus ex nostris*.⁵⁹³

Apart from exploiting the possibilities given by grammar, he also draws the attention of his audience to the circumstances of real life in order to lighten the tone of his abstract exegetical treatise: *Multa dici possunt, sed penuria scriptorum atque membranarum non patitur*. This passage recalls similar phrases in classical, patristic and medieval authors such as Horace (*Sermones* 2.3.1–2: *Sic raro scribis, ut toto non quater anno/ membranam poscas, scriptorum quaeque retexens*), Saint Jerome (*tamen rex Attalus membranas e Pergamo miserat, ut penuria chartae pellibus pensaretur; quia in hac prouincia Latini sermonis scriptorumque penuria est*) and Adam of Bremen (*facta memorantur, quae scriptorum penuria nunc habentur pro fabulis*).⁵⁹⁴ Gerard's other phrases and clauses of the same sort include the ones that refer to the physical labor, exhaustion, and hunger of a writer: *fatigato stilo; Quia uero iam nos stilus fatigat tempusque iminet reficiendi esuries; antequam ad mensam tendamus... quamlibet tempus instet et nos iam stilus fatiget; stilo nos fatigante, calce uero hore terminum exposcente; cum nos iam stilus fatiget*. Since these phrases and clauses usually appear at the end of a book in the *Deliberatio*, apart from being indicators of Gerard's concept of time, they also serve as literary excuses for finishing parts of the work. This is all the more so because similar features occur in the learned Latin of Peter Damian as well (*His igitur paucis rationem me uobis reddidisse sufficiat, ne longior stilus fatigari uos nimia prolixitate compellat*).⁵⁹⁵ The literary conventions that also indicate Gerard's concept of time, as well as striving to establish a more informal contact with the audience, include the clause *antequam nos hora praetereat*, which occurs eight times in the work.⁵⁹⁶ This and other similar phrases (*hora autem nos expectat, hora elabitur, quia uero nos hora praeterire festinat, quia uero iam hora nos cogit ad horas*) have parallels in classical and Biblical Latin (Ovid, *Ars amatoria* 3.64: *Nec quae praeterit, hora redire*

⁵⁹¹ CCCM 49, 34–5.

⁵⁹² CCCM 49, 23, 158.

⁵⁹³ CCCM 49, 80.

⁵⁹⁴ CCCM 49, 177; Saint Jerome, “Epistulae,” CSEL 54, 27; Saint Jerome, “Epistulae,” CSEL 55, 33; Adam of Bremen, “Gesta Hammaburgensis ecclesiae pontificum,” MGH: *Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum* 2, 104. See Hulley (1943: 83–92).

⁵⁹⁵ CCCM 49, 73, 78, 105, 134, 178; Kurt Reindel, ed., MGH: *Die Briefe der deutschen Kaiserzeit*, vol. 4.3, *Die Briefe des Petrus Damiani* (Munich: MGH, 1989), 535.

⁵⁹⁶ CCCM 49, 6, 9, 20, 33, 47, 117, 134, 168.

potest, Matthew 14.15: *hora iam praeteriit*, and Mark 6.35: *iam hora praeteriuit*).⁵⁹⁷

Without considering Gerard's quotations, the frequency of occurrences of the second person singular yields the following grammatical distribution (the numerals refer to the page numbers of Silagi's edition) – present indicative active: *admittis* 18, 108, *audis* 12, 26, 52, 53, 62, 62, 141, 163, 163, 176, *cessas* 33, *deliberas* 146, *dicis* 16, 90, 166, *dirigis* 39, *doces* 40, *geris* 39, *habes* 11, 23, 157, *inquis* 8, 11, 88, 145, 145, 162, *inuenis* 63, *legis* 141, *op(b)tas* 27, 146, *potes* 41, 67, 153, *queris* 7, 12, 15, 17, 19, 20, 24, 88, 142, 142, 145, 152, 173, *recurris* 153, *uis* 18, 19, 20, 48, 55, 57, 62, 67, 89, 119, 121, 122, 124, 124, 126, 126, 126, 127, 127, 129, 130, 140, 141, 144, 154, 161, 162, 164; perfect indicative active: *audisti* 7, 7, 8, 10, 16, 17, 20, 21, 21, 21, 24, 41, 45, 61, 65, 66, 69, 73, 75, 137, 141, 142, 144, 169, 171, 175, *iussisti* 141, *postulasti* 1; pluperfect indicative active: *quiueras* 38; future indicative active: *comprobabis* 24, 85, *inuenies* 3, 8, 9, 13, 15, 18, 19, 20, 24; perfect indicative passive: *doctus es* 68, 149, *es hortatus* (deponent) 37; present subjunctive active: *admittas* 152, *aduertas* 27, *(a)estimes* 13, 51, 89, *cognoscas* 34, *dicas* 12, 30, 69, 115, *dubites* 12, 13, 14, 15, 26, 29, 30, 37, 44, 54, 81, 89, 103, 142, 167, 167, *ignores* 34, *sapias* 9, 167, *scias* 41, *sumas* 1; perfect subjunctive active: *aderis* 5; imperfect subjunctive active: *considerares* 52, *scires* 52, 55; present subjunctive passive: *astringaris* 5, *audiaris* 173, *exprimaris* 66, *ininitaris* (deponent) 66, *suffoceris* 66; present imperative active: *aduerte* 62, *animaduerte* 91, *audi* 7, 11, 19, 20, 23, 88, 142, 145, 152, 173, *ausculta* 27, *considera* 145, *crede* 16, *delibera* 21, *disce* 12, 16, 17, 19, 24, 90, 142, 152, 166, 173, *erubescere* 166, *exerce* 154, *fer* 39, *intellege* 52, *lege* 24, *recurre* 15, 24, *scribe* 145, *sume* 21, 66, *tracta* 68, *uide* 13, 15, 141, 166; personal pronoun: *a te* 32, *te* 3, 20, 32, 39, 43, 62, 68, 85, 140, 154, *tecum* 8, *tibi* 1, 5, 13, 27, 28, 157, *tu* 33, 38, 55, 66; possessive pronoun: *tua* 16, 148, *tuam* 32, *tue* 1, 43, 141, *tui* 45, 145, *tuis* 140, *tuo* 70, *tuos* 40, *tuus(que)* 33, 40; vocative case: *beatissime frater* 16, *frater carissime* 51.

To summarize the function of the second person singular in the *Deliberatio*, one must keep in mind the fact that a great deal of the Latin texts produced in the Middle Ages, that is, liturgical ones, were based on oral performance to a considerable extent. Interpreting Gerard's work, which was not composed for the purpose of liturgical practice but very much influenced by it, involves interpretation of the problem of the *uox paginarum* being read aloud, because Saint Augustine's classic formulation of silent reading (*Sed cum legebat, oculi ducebantur per paginas et cor intellectum rimabatur, uox autem et lingua quiescebat*) does not necessarily hold true for Gerard's surroundings.⁵⁹⁸ From this point of view, the use of the second person singular in the work is a literary convention in a linguistic and a social context—both with a long tra-

⁵⁹⁷ CCCM 49, 11, 44, 55, 179.

⁵⁹⁸ Saint Augustine, "Confessions," CCSL 27, 75. See Balogh (1925: 345–8); Balogh (1926: 84–109, 202–40); Busch (2002: 1–45). See also Saenger (1997).

dition. The linguistic tradition is based on the classical models of ancient Greek and Roman literature. In classical Latin, the indefinite second person singular, referring to an indefinite subject, functions as a means to create a didactic dialog or to make a statement personal. In post-classical Latin, a gradual shift puts the stress on the reference to an unreal person and an imaginary or fictive audience in order to involve the reader, present and future. In both classical and post-classical Latin forms of address, including early Christian writers, adjectives expressing affection or respect are often vocatives and superlatives—as is the case in the *Deliberatio* as well. From the linguistic perspective, therefore, the syntax and style as reflected in the use of the second person singular in Bishop Gerard's work is an eleventh-century product of this tradition.⁵⁹⁹ From the perspective of the social context, however, the *Deliberatio* was probably not written for reading aloud in a monastic or cathedral community. The fact that only one manuscript of it survives also excludes this possibility. In any case, whether it was produced for silent reading or for reading aloud in solitude, its written references to orality are by no means manifestations of oral transmission as an alternate tool of communication besides, or to challenge, the use of the normative written language. On the contrary: the social context shows that the *Deliberatio* is also a product of the tradition of a fictive orality (*fiktive Mündlichkeit*) which goes back to the patristic authors.⁶⁰⁰ Creating a fictive audience, Gerard's use of the second person singular illustrates the significance of the fiction of orality in a literary setting—a common feature of both classical and medieval Latin. This is an important aspect of what Gerard imported to Hungary with the Western *Latinitas*.⁶⁰¹

Furthermore, the *Deliberatio* features numerous expressions that resemble classical, patristic and medieval authors. The following is an overview of such expressions and their antecedents.

Book One: *mordacis conscientie* – Cicero, *Tusculanae disputationes* 4.20.45: *mordaci est melius conscientia*; Saint Augustine: *conscientia mordetur*; Peter Damian: *mordax conscientia*.⁶⁰²

Book One: *cumulatius* – Cicero, *Orator* 17.54: *cumulatius*. The expression is common in patristic and medieval Latin.⁶⁰³

Book One: *Pauliani non semper esse Christum sed de Maria dicunt sumpsisse exordium* – Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria* 1.12.19: *sumet exordium*; Quintilian, *Institu-*

⁵⁹⁹ See Hofmann and Szantyr (1965: 419); Gilmartin (1975: 99–121); Dickey (2002: 131–3, 137, 322–3, 329, 360).

⁶⁰⁰ See Bäuml (1968: 1–10); Frank (1990: 257–69); Vollrath (1991: 102–11); Frank (1997: 51–74); Parkes (1999: 90–102).

⁶⁰¹ See Nemerkényi (2001a: 39–48).

⁶⁰² CCCC 49, 7; Saint Augustine, “*Sermones de ueteri testamento*,” CCSL 41, 598; Kurt Reindel, ed., *MGH: Die Briefe der deutschen Kaiserzeit*, vol. 4.3, *Die Briefe des Petrus Damiani* (Munich: MGH, 1989), 96.

⁶⁰³ CCCC 49, 8.

tio oratoria 4.4.9: *sumat exordium*; Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria* 9.4.63: *exordium sumunt*; Servius, *In Vergilii Aeneidos libros* 6.125: *sumpsit exordium*; Macrobius, *Commentarii in Somnium Scipionis* 2.3.5: *sumpsit exordium*; Macrobius, *Saturnalia* 5.14.12: *sed Homeri opus ab Achillis ira sumpsit exordium*. The expression is common in patristic and medieval Latin.⁶⁰⁴

Book Two: *ducenda est contemplacio* – Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria* 6.2.5: *contemplatione abducenda mens*.⁶⁰⁵

Book Two: *et sic tropologice aduertamus et confidentissime dicamus* – *Rhetorica ad Herennium* 2.5.8: *confidentissime resisteret*.⁶⁰⁶

Book Two: *societatis uinculo* – Cicero, *De officiis* 3.6.28: *cuius societatis artissimum uinculum*; Cicero, *De oratore* 3.6.21: *societatis uinculo*; Cicero, *De re publica* 1.32.49: *cum lex sit civilis societatis uinculum*; Livy, *Ab urbe condita* 36.7.11: *communis utilitas, quae societatis maximum uinculum est*. The expression is common in patristic and medieval Latin.⁶⁰⁷

Book Two: *qui in assiduitate utriusque testamenti uersantur* – Cicero, *De inuentione* 1.3.4: *dicendi assiduitas*; Tacitus, *Dialogus de oratoribus* 5.2: *adsiduitate contubernii*; Martianus Capella, *De nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii* 5.514: *assiduitate*. The expression is common in patristic and medieval Latin.⁶⁰⁸

Book Three: *progressio* – Cicero, *De oratore* 3.54.206: *progressio*; Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria* 9.1.33: *progressio*; Martianus Capella, *De nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii* 9.974: *progressio*. The expression is common in patristic and medieval Latin.⁶⁰⁹

Book Four: *licenter* – Cicero, *Orator* 23.77: *licenter*; Horace, *Ars poetica* 265: *licenter*; Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria* 1.8.6: *licenter*. The expression is common in patristic and medieval Latin.⁶¹⁰

Book Four: *indifferenter* – Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria* 9.2.6: *indifferenter*; Macrobius, *Saturnalia* 1.4.21: *indifferenter*; Priscian: *indifferenter*; Cassiodorus: *indifferenter*. The expression is common in patristic and medieval Latin.⁶¹¹

Book Four: *uirtutes contrarias* – Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria* 8.3.49: *contrariis uirtutibus*. The expression is common in patristic and medieval Latin.⁶¹²

Book Four: *explicatores* – Cicero, *De inuentione* 2.2.6: *explicatorem*; Cicero, *Orator* 30.31: *explicator*; Saint Jerome: *explicator* (quoted by Remigius of Auxerre);

⁶⁰⁴ CCCM 49, 10.

⁶⁰⁵ CCCM 49, 12.

⁶⁰⁶ CCCM 49, 14. See also CCCM 49, 46.

⁶⁰⁷ CCCM 49, 16.

⁶⁰⁸ CCCM 49, 22.

⁶⁰⁹ CCCM 49, 34.

⁶¹⁰ CCCM 49, 39.

⁶¹¹ CCCM 49, 39; Priscian, “Institutionum grammaticarum libri XVIII,” *GL* 2, 55; Cassiodorus, “De orthographia,” *GL* 7, 156. See also CCCM 49, 79, 84.

⁶¹² CCCM 49, 44.

Saint Augustine: *explicatorum*.⁶¹³

Book Five: *uitam sempiternam* – Terence, *Andria* 959: *ego deorum uitam propterea sempiternam esse arbitror*; *Legenda maior* of Saint Stephen (on Saint Emeric): *uitam hanc exitialem commutauit sempiternam, supernorum ciuium adiunctus contubernio*. The expression is common in patristic and medieval Latin.⁶¹⁴

Book Five: *pluraliter, et non... singulariter* – Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria* 1.5.16: *pluralia singulariter et singularia pluraliter*; Priscian: *tam singulariter quam pluraliter*. The combination is common in patristic and medieval Latin.⁶¹⁵

Book Five: *apertissime* – Cicero, *De inuentione* 1.39.70: *quod apertissime scriptum est*; Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria* 1.pr.13: *ut Cicero apertissime colligit*; Macrobius, *Saturnalia* 3.3.4: *apertissime*; Priscian: *apertissime*. The expression is common in patristic and medieval Latin.⁶¹⁶

Book Five: *indubitabilem* – Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria* 4.1.55: *indubitabili*; Macrobius, *Commentarii in Somnium Scipionis* 1.20.20: *indubitabilibus*; Martianus Capella, *De nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii* 6.592: *indubitabilis*; Priscian: *indubitabilem*. The expression is common in patristic and medieval Latin.⁶¹⁷

Book Five: *O ceca cupiditas* (fol. 63v: Grünwalder: *De ceca cupiditate*) – Lucretius, *De rerum natura* 3.59: *caeca cupido*; Lucretius, *De rerum natura* 4.1153: *cupidine caeci*; Cicero, *De inuentione* 1.2.2: *caeca ac temeraria dominatrix animi cupiditas*; Cicero, *Pro Sulla* 32.91: *o caecam cupiditatem*; Sallust, *De bello Iugurthino* 25.7: *cupidine caecus*; Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 3.620: *caeca cupido*; Seneca, *Epistulae morales ad Lucilium* 15.9: *caeca cupiditas*; Lucan, *Bellum ciuile* 1.87: *cupidine caeci*; Statius, *Thebais* 2.116: *caecumque cupidine*; Alcuin: *caeca et temeraria cupiditas*; Peter Damian: *quia mentis eius oculum furiosa cupiditas caecat*. The expression is common in patristic and medieval Latin.⁶¹⁸

Book Five: *insolentie uero ac cupiditates* – Cicero, *Epistulae ad familiares* 4.14.2: *cupidorum et insolentium*; Lactantius: *cupiditate insolentia*.⁶¹⁹

Book Five: *in melius mutentur* – Livy, *Ab urbe condita* 34.7.1: *mutationem in meliorem statum*; Lucan, *Bellum ciuile* 6.60: *in melius mutare locum*. The expression is common in patristic and medieval Latin.⁶²⁰

Book Five: *conpositorum hurbanitate uerborum* – Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria*

⁶¹³ CCCM 49, 44; Saint Jerome, “Epistulae,” CSEL 54, 228; Remigius of Auxerre, “Enarrationes in Psalmos,” PL 131, 139; Saint Augustine, “De Genesi ad litteram,” CSEL 28.1, 155.

⁶¹⁴ CCCM 49, 58; “Legenda maior sancti Stephani regis,” SRH 2, 391.

⁶¹⁵ CCCM 49, 59; Priscian, “Institutionum grammaticarum libri XVIII,” GL 2, 175.

⁶¹⁶ CCCM 49, 60; Priscian, “Institutionum grammaticarum libri XVIII,” GL 3, 192.

⁶¹⁷ CCCM 49, 66; Priscian, “Institutionum grammaticarum libri XVIII,” GL 3, 84.

⁶¹⁸ CCCM 49, 68; Alcuin, “Dialogus de rhetorica et virtutibus,” PL 101, 921; Kurt Reindel, ed., MGH: *Die Briefe der deutschen Kaiserzeit*, vol. 4.3, *Die Briefe des Petrus Damiani* (Munich: MGH, 1989), 94.

⁶¹⁹ CCCM 49, 70; Lactantius, “Diuinae institutiones,” CSEL 19, 31.

⁶²⁰ CCCM 49, 75.

8.6.57: *ut tristia dicamus melioribus uerbis urbanitatis gratia.*⁶²¹

Book Five: *mentis aciem* – Cicero, *De finibus* 5.20.57: *mentis acie*; Cicero, *Lucullus* 42.129: *mentis acie*; Cicero, *De oratore* 2.38.160: *acie mentis*; Martianus Capella, *De nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii* 2.203: *tota mentis acie.*⁶²²

Book Six: *rationis particeps* – Cicero, *De diuinatione* 1.29.60: *rationis sit particeps*; Cicero, *De legibus* 1.7.22: *particeps rationis*; Cicero, *De natura deorum* 2.13.36: *rationis particeps*; Cicero, *De officiis* 1.4.11: *rationis est particeps*; Cicero, *Tusculanae disputationes* 4.5.10: *rationis participem*. The expression is common in patristic and medieval Latin.⁶²³

Book Six: *congruit sententia* – Cicero, *Brutus* 38.141: *sententiis congruens*; Cicero, *De legibus* 1.10.30: *sententiis congruens*. The expression is common in patristic and medieval Latin.⁶²⁴

Book Six: *examussim* – Plautus, *Amphitruo* 843: *examussim*; Apuleius, *Metamorphoses* 2.30: *examussim*; Priscian: *examussim*. The term is common in patristic and medieval Latin.⁶²⁵

Book Six: *fulgorem et portentum* – Cicero, *De diuinatione* 1.18.35: *in fulgoribus errare aut fallaciter portenta interpretari*; Cicero, *De diuinatione* 1.49.109: *quae fulgoribus quae portentis.*⁶²⁶

Book Six: *in gremio Christi collocati sunt* – Catullus, *Carmina* 66.56: *et Veneris casto collocat in gremio*; Pliny, *Panegyricus* 8.3: *in gremio Iouis collocarat*; Saint Ambrose: *et collocavit eum in gremio suo* (quoting 3 Kings 3.20: *et conlocavit in sinu suo*); Cassiodorus: *in laudum gremio collocatur.*⁶²⁷

Book Six: *Fumifer* – *Ilias Latina* 599: *fumiferae*; Vergil, *Aeneis* 8.255: *fumiferam noctem* (Servius, *In Vergilii Aeneidos libros* 8.255: *fumiferam noctem: non est noctis epitheton, sed quam Cacus fumum euomens faciebat*; Macrobius, *Saturnalia* 5.14.8: *fumiferam noctem*); Vergil, *Aeneis* 9.522: *fumiferos*; Lucan, *Bellum ciuile* 7.193: *fumifer*; Statius, *Thebais* 8.466: *fumiferam*; Cassiodorus: *fumiferas actiones* (quoted by Hrabanus Maurus); Alcuin: *fumiferas*.⁶²⁸

Book Six: *quibus dictis Plato philosophus comprobatur stultissimus dicens humana cogitata non de corde sed de cerebro manare* – Cicero, *Tusculanae disputationes* 1.9.19: *alii in corde, alii in cerebro dixerunt animi esse sedem et locum*; Cicero, *Tu-*

⁶²¹ CCCM 49, 77.

⁶²² CCCM 49, 78.

⁶²³ CCCM 49, 82.

⁶²⁴ CCCM 49, 83.

⁶²⁵ CCCM 49, 85; Priscian, “Institutionum grammaticarum libri XVIII,” *GL* 2, 53.

⁶²⁶ CCCM 49, 89.

⁶²⁷ CCCM 49, 94; Saint Ambrose, “De officiis,” *CCSL* 15, 113; Cassiodorus, “Variarum libri XII,” *CCSL* 96, 395.

⁶²⁸ CCCM 49, 94; Cassiodorus, “Expositio Psalmorum,” *CCSL* 97, 586; Hrabanus Maurus, “De universo,” *PL* 111, 279; Alcuin, “Epigrammata et aenigmata,” *PL* 101, 812.

sculanae disputationes 1.17.41: *in corde cerebroue*; Cicero, *Tusculanae disputationes* 1.25.60: *nec cordis nec sanguinis nec cerebri nec atomorum*; Saint Ambrose: *cerebro, unde omnis manat usus uiuendi*; Saint Jerome: *non in corde, sed, iuxta Platonem, in cerebro suspicantur*; Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiae* 11.1.21: *cerebro, unde omnia manant* (quoted by Hrabanus Maurus); Bede the Venerable: *sed in quantum homini possibile est, omnes suos cogitatus, sermones, et actus, qui uelut de cerebro cordis sensim prodeunt.*⁶²⁹

Book Six: *scintillas ardentes* – Vergil, *Aeneis* 12.101–2: *totoque ardantis ab ore/ scintillae absistunt* (Servius, *In Vergilii Aeneidos libros* 12.95: *totoque ardantis ab ore scintillae absistunt*); Bede the Venerable: *Chrysolitus lapis quasi aurum fulget, scintillas habens ardentes* (quoted by Hrabanus Maurus); Alcuin: *quasi scintillam cuiusdam ardantis flammae.*⁶³⁰

Book Six: *philosophandum est* – Seneca, *Epistulae morales ad Lucilium* 16.5: *philosophandum est*; Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria* 5.10.70: *non est philosophandum*; Gellius, *Noctes Atticae* 5.15.9: *philosophandum est paucis*; Macrobius, *Saturnalia* 7.1.16: *philosophandum est*; Martianus Capella, *De nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii* 5.441: *an philosophandum sit*; Lactantius: *quod cum diceret philosophandum non esse*; Saint Jerome: *Scilicet nunc mihi philosophandum est*; Saint Augustine: *in quibus philosophandum est.*⁶³¹

Book Six: *aliquantisper* – Plautus, *Pseudolus* 571: *aliquantisper*; Terence, *Adelphoe* 639: *aliquantisper*; Gellius, *Noctes Atticae* 2.30.5: *aliquantisper*; *Legenda minor* of Saint Stephen: *aliquantisper*. The term is common in patristic and medieval Latin.⁶³²

Book Six: *honestissime concertandum* – Cicero, *De finibus* 2.21.68: *certamen honestum*; Cicero, *Laelius de amicitia* 9.32: *honesta certatio*; Macrobius, *Saturnalia* 3.17.16: *honesti certaminis.*⁶³³

Book Seven: *contra mundi opificem* – Cicero, *De natura deorum* 1.8.18: *non opificem aedificatoremque mundi Platonis de Timaeo deum*; Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 1.79: *ille opifex rerum, mundi melioris origo*; Apuleius, *Apologia* 64: *mundi sui opifex*; Simon of Kéza: *Deus opifex Creator*. The expression is common in patristic and medieval Latin.⁶³⁴

Book Seven: *multiformiter* – Gellius, *Noctes Atticae* 9.5.7: *multiformiter*; Priscian:

⁶²⁹ CCCM 49, 96; Saint Ambrose, “*Exameron*,” CSEL 32.1, 247; Saint Jerome, “*Commentariorum in Daniel libri III*,” CCSL 75A, 791; Hrabanus Maurus, “*De universo*,” PL 111, 143; Bede the Venerable, “*In Samuelem prophetam allegorica expositio*,” PL 91, 505.

⁶³⁰ CCCM 49, 100; Bede the Venerable, “*Explanatio Apocalypseos*,” CCSL 121A, 543; Hrabanus Maurus, “*De universo*,” PL 111, 468; Alcuin, “*Epistolae*,” PL 100, 318. See also CCCM 49, 101, 102.

⁶³¹ CCCM 49, 102; Lactantius, “*Diuinae institutiones*,” CSEL 19, 226; Saint Jerome, “*Contra Joannem Hierosolymitanum*,” PL 23, 388; Saint Augustine, “*De ciuitate Dei*,” CCSL 48, 660.

⁶³² CCCM 49, 106; “*Legenda minor sancti Stephani regis*,” SRH 2, 397.

⁶³³ CCCM 49, 107.

⁶³⁴ CCCM 49, 119; Simon of Kéza, “*Gesta Hungarorum*,” SRH 1, 142.

multiformiter; John Scottus Eriugena: *multiformiter*. The term is common in patristic and medieval Latin.⁶³⁵

Book Seven: *pinguissimi sulci* – Lucan, *Bellum ciuile* 6.382: *pinguis Bebrycio discessit uomere sulcus*.⁶³⁶

Book Seven: *non accommodat diuinum sensum* – Cicero, *De inuentione* 2.8.25: *et ad animi quendam intimum sensum accommodetur*; Cicero, *De oratore* 1.12.54: *hominum sensibus ac mentibus accommodata*; Cicero, *Partitiones oratoriae* 23.79: *sensus accommodatior*; Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria* 9.3.28: *sed ipsis sensibus cum gratiam tum etiam uires accommodat*; Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria* 11.3.89: *ut sit gestus ad sensus magis quam ad uerba accommodatus*; Saint Augustine: *piorum sensibus accommodatius Cicero in Caesaris laude locutus est*; Bede the Venerable: *et nostris actibus accommodum audire sensum delectat*.⁶³⁷

Book Seven: *mediocres ingenio* – Cicero, *Brutus* 67.237: *mediocri ingenio*; Cicero, *De oratore* 2.41.175: *mediocris ingenii*; Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria* 12.11.24: *mediocri uir ingenio*; Priscian: *ingenii mediocritate*; Saint Augustine: *non mediocri ingenio*.⁶³⁸

Book Eight: *debilitata et confracta* – Cicero, *De oratore* 1.26.121: *me fractum et debilitatum*; 4 Esdras 2.21: *confactum et debilem*; Saint Ambrose: *fracta debilitatibus*; Saint Jerome: *debilitati et fracti totius corporis*; Arnobius: *fractas debilitatasque uirtutes*.⁶³⁹

Book Eight: *tumiditates et inflaciones* – Vergil, *Aeneis* 3.357: *uela uocant tumidoque inflatur carbasus Austro*; Horace, *Sermones* 2.5.98: *crescentem tumidis infla sermonibus utrem*; Saint Jerome: *de Hermagorae tumiditate*; Saint Augustine: *in corde uestro tumido et inflato*; Peter Damian: *tumor inflauerat*.⁶⁴⁰

Book Eight: *frangunturque superba* – Propertius, *Elegiae* 3.13.60: *frangitur ipsa suis Roma superba bonis*; Saint Jerome: *frangam superbiam*; Saint Augustine: *frangantur superbi rami, humili inseratur oleaster*; Remigius of Auxerre: *dum frangitur superbia*. The expression is common in patristic and medieval Latin.⁶⁴¹

⁶³⁵ CCCM 49, 121; Priscian, “De metris fabularum Terentii,” *GL* 3, 421; John Scottus Eriugena, “De divisione naturae,” *PL* 122, 659.

⁶³⁶ CCCM 49, 123.

⁶³⁷ CCCM 49, 132; Saint Augustine, “De ciuitate Dei,” *CCSL* 47, 254; Bede the Venerable, “In Ezram et Neemiani libri III,” *CCSL* 119A, 376.

⁶³⁸ CCCM 49, 132; Priscian, “Institutionum grammaticarum libri XVIII,” *GL* 2, 194; Saint Augustine, “De ciuitate Dei,” *CCSL* 47, 310.

⁶³⁹ CCCM 49, 142; Saint Ambrose, “Expositio Psalmi CXVIII,” *CSEL* 62, 413; Saint Jerome, “Contra Rufinum,” *CCSL* 79, 15; Arnobius, “Adversus nationes libri VII,” *CSEL* 4, 282.

⁶⁴⁰ CCCM 49, 142; Saint Jerome, “Epistulae,” *CSEL* 54, 464; Saint Augustine, “Sermones,” *PL* 38, 981; Kurt Reindel, ed., *MGH: Die Briefe der deutschen Kaiserzeit*, vol. 4.1, *Die Briefe des Petrus Damiani* (Munich: MGH, 1983), 198.

⁶⁴¹ CCCM 49, 147; Saint Jerome, “Epistulae,” *CSEL* 55, 329; Saint Augustine, “In Iohannis evangelium tractatus,” *CCSL* 36, 168; Remigius of Auxerre, “Enarrationes in Psalmos,” *PL* 131, 302.

Book Eight: *lumine mentis* – Cicero, *Tusculanae disputationes* 3.5.10: *lumine mentis*; Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 4.200: *in lumina mentis*.⁶⁴²

Book Eight: *mentis oculorum acumine* – Cicero, *De oratore* 3.41.163: *mentis oculi*; Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria* 8.3.62: *oculis mentis*; Apuleius, *De Platone et eius dogmate* 1.6: *mentis oculis*. The expression is common in patristic and medieval Latin.⁶⁴³

Book Eight: *simplex multiplicitas* – *Rhetorica ad Herennium* 4.44.56: *rhetoricae res simplex multiplici ratione tractatur*; Seneca, *Epistulae morales ad Lucilium* 122.17: *Simplex recti cura est, multiplex praui*; Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria* 4.4.5: *Sunt autem propositiones et simplices et duplices uel multiplices*; Macrobius, *Saturnalia* 7.4.3: *utrum simplex an multiplex*; Martianus Capella, *De nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii* 9.975: *alios simplices, alios multiplices*; Zeno of Verona: *simplex quidem uocabulum, sed multiplex pronuntiatio*; Saint Augustine: *de illa simplici multiplicitate uel multiplici simplicitate*; John Scottus Eriugena: *simplex multiplicatio*.⁶⁴⁴

Book Eight: *medullitus* – Plautus, *Mostellaria* 243: *medullitus*; Apuleius, *Metamorphoses* 7.2: *medullitus*; Zeno of Verona: *medullitus*; Hartvic: *Priscianus auctor artis grammaticae, medullitus mihi notus olim, longe digressus, faciem suam quasi caligine quadam circumfluam mihi decrepito iam facit obscurissima* (sic). The term is common in patristic and medieval Latin.⁶⁴⁵

Book Eight: *sempiterno motu* – Cicero, *Tusculanae disputationes* 1.27.66: *motu sempiterno* (quoted by Saint Augustine); Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiae* 13.1.1: *sempiterno motu*; Hrabanus Maurus: *in sempiterno motu*.⁶⁴⁶

As in the case of King Stephen's *Admonitions*, it is important to differentiate between direct and indirect quotations and between quotations and common expressions.

⁶⁴² CCCM 49, 149.

⁶⁴³ CCCM 49, 155.

⁶⁴⁴ CCCM 49, 163; Zeno of Verona, "Tractatus," CCSL 22, 134; Saint Augustine, "De Trinitate libri XV," CCSL 50, 234; John Scottus Eriugena, "De divisione naturae," PL 122, 632.

⁶⁴⁵ CCCM 49, 167; Zeno of Verona, "Tractatus," CCSL 22, 12; Hartvic, "Legenda sancti Stephani regis," SRH 2, 401.

⁶⁴⁶ CCCM 49, 175; Saint Augustine, "De ciuitate Dei," CCSL 48, 840; Hrabanus Maurus, "De universo," PL 111, 259.

CHAPTER FOUR

The Monastic School

The Benedictine monasteries in recently Christianized countries in general, and in Hungary in particular, did not necessarily show any specific cultural orientation in terms of the classical holdings of their libraries. Rather, they showed an overwhelming preference for liturgy. This preference is apparent in the following sources.

First there is the false foundation charter of the Benedictine monastery of Pécsvárad. This was said to have been issued by King Stephen in 1015 but in fact dates from the thirteenth century. Nevertheless, the list of thirty-four books in the charter is authentic, and it contains the Bible, various liturgical books, and a collection of homilies that belonged to the monastery: *Libris uero, quorum precipua auctoritas fulget in ecclesia Dei: Biblioteca in duobus uoluminibus, Nocturnalibus IIIIor, Antiphonariis V, Lectionariis II cum Ewangelio, Missalibus VI, Psalteriis IIIIor, Gradualibus V, Regulis II, Baptisteriis II, Quadraginta omeliarum uolumine uno.*⁶⁴⁷

The foundation charter of the Benedictine monastery of Tihany, issued by King Andrew I in 1055, has an addition on its verso that dates from around 1090 and lists five liturgical books in the possession of the monastery: *duo missales, unum nocturnale, duo gradalia.*⁶⁴⁸

The charter recording the goods of the monastery of Bakonybél in 1086 also features an additional reference to books from the early twelfth century – three manuscripts of the Gospel and eighty-four *libri*: *tres textus Euangelii, unus aureus, duo argentei... Libri quidem simul sunt LXXXIIIor.* The three precious copies of the Gospel were listed separately because of their expensive binding material. Although a total of eighty-seven books would constitute a significant collection, the list does not specify the remaining eighty-four manuscripts besides the three copies of the Gospel.⁶⁴⁹

The Benedictine monastery of Somogyvár was founded by King Ladislas in 1091. Based on King Ladislas' correspondence with Abbot Odilo of Saint Gilles, it is clear that Somogyvár had considerable connections with the monastery of Saint Gilles in southern France. This could likely have affected Somogyvár's book provision as well, but there is no information on the books available there at the time.⁶⁵⁰

These individual cases show overall that Benedictine monasteries in eleventh-

⁶⁴⁷ DHA 1, 77.

⁶⁴⁸ DHA 1, 152. See also Komjáthy (1955: 27–47).

⁶⁴⁹ DHA 1, 254. See also Váczy (1930: 314–31).

⁶⁵⁰ DHA 1, 266–70. See also Baumgarten (1906: 389–411).

century Hungary were mainly equipped with liturgical manuscripts, except perhaps for the Bakonybél monastery where the eighty-four volumes are not specified in the charter.

The oldest and most important of all the monasteries in medieval Hungary is the Benedictine monastery of Pannonhalma, founded by Duke Géza in 996 and dedicated to Saint Martin. Pannonhalma's original foundation charter was issued by King Stephen in 1002, and its interpolated version survives from the twelfth century, providing Pannonhalma with the same privileges as those of Monte Cassino. According to a letter from King Ladislas to Abbot Oderisius of Monte Cassino (*Oderisio religiosissimo abbati Sancti Benedicti*), dating from 1091 and surviving in a twelfth-century copy in the archive of Monte Cassino, there was a royal attempt to strengthen the relationship of Monte Cassino and Hungary.⁶⁵¹

Approximately between 1093 and 1095, King Ladislas issued a charter in favor of the monastery of Pannonhalma: it includes the inventory of the properties of the abbey. The original charter has survived and is kept in the Benedictine Abbey Archive in Pannonhalma: Arch. Montis Pann., n. 4. (Sign. Ant.: Capsa II. A.), Photo: Df. 208288. A late medieval note appears on the verso of the charter: *Sancti Ladislai regis super rebus, prediis et bonis huius monasterii Sancti Martini*. Further copies of the charter survive in four medieval transcriptions: two of them were issued by King Andrew II in 1213 and 1223, one by King Béla IV in 1236, and one more in the cartulary of the Pannonhalma monastery, called *Liber ruber*, compiled around 1240. Through its modern critical editions, the relevant parts of the charter made their way into Becker's *Catalogi bibliothecarum antiqui* and Munk Olsen's catalog of the Latin classics in medieval libraries.⁶⁵²

The charter of King Ladislas starts with a Leonine hexameter: *Diuinum firmet nomen, quod scripsimus, amen.*⁶⁵³ Among the properties of the monastery, the charter lists a total of eighty books as pieces of special value: *VI textus Euangeliorum cum totidem plumaciis... VI missales, I Bibliotheca, IIII nocturnales, IIII antiphonalia, IIII gradalia, II sequentiales cum tropolis, IIII baptisteria, III collectarii, IIII ymnarii, II Regule, unus super Regulam, II lectionarii, I breuiarius, III omelie, II libri sermonum, I collationes... II passionales, Liber Sententiarum, Actus Apostolorum, liber Prosperi De actiua et contemplatiua uita, et Ysidorum, Ordo, Amalarius, Pastoralis, Dialogorum, Epistole Pauli, II Moralia Job, Scintillarium, Interrogatio Petri, Inuestiue Ciceronis, Lucanus, II Donati, Genesis Seduli, III Catones, Paschasius, Vita Sancti Martini,*

⁶⁵¹ DHA 1, 272.

⁶⁵² László Erdélyi, "Oklevélár" (Charters), in *A Pannonhalmi Szent-Benedek-Rend története* (A history of the Benedictine Order of Pannonhalma), ed. László Erdélyi, vol. 1.1 (Budapest: Szent István Társulat, 1902), 591; DHA 1, 295–301. See Érszegi (1985: 84); Veszprémy (1996a: 118–20). See also Gustav Becker, ed., *Catalogi bibliothecarum antiqui* (Bonn: Cohen, 1885), 171–2; Munk Olsen (1987: 179–80).

⁶⁵³ See Horváth (1954: 83–4); Horváth (1956: 1–19). See also Rácz (1927: 5); Erdmann (1941: 15–28).

Vita Patrum, Psalterium gallicanum, ebraycum, grecum, Sermo Sancti Augustini. All of these eighty books are lost today.⁶⁵⁴

According to learned estimations, the eighty volumes could have contained around two hundred or two hundred and fifty works. The channels of book provision may have included royal donations, imports by missionaries, and copies made from other manuscripts borrowed from Western or local monastic and cathedral libraries.⁶⁵⁵ Indeed, by the end of the eleventh century some of the books at Pannonhalma could well have been products of the copying activity of the local *scriptorium*. Although Bishop Maurus of Pécs spent his formative years in the monastery of Pannonhalma as a *puer scolasticus* and therefore surely witnessed the activity of its *scriptorium*, he hardly reports on his experience at Pannonhalma later in his legend of Saints Zoerard and Benedict (*Ego quidem Maurus nunc Deo miserante episcopus, tunc autem puer scolasticus ui- rum bonum uidi... Ad nostrum ergo monasterium in honorem beati pontificis Martini consecratum*).⁶⁵⁶

Herman of Tournai, the chronicler of the monastery of Saint Martin of Tournai, characterized the ideal *scriptorium* at the end of the eleventh century in the following way: *Scriptorum quippe copiam a Domino sibi datam exultabat, ita ut, si claustrum ingredereris, uideres plerumque duodecim monachos iuuenes in cathedris sedentes et super tabulas diligenter et artificiose compositas cum silentio scribentes. Unde omnes libros Ieronimi in explanatione prophetarum omnesque libros beati Gregorii et quoscumque inuenire potuit beati Augustini, Ambrosii, Hysidori, Bede, necnon etiam domni Anselmi, tunc temporis abbatis Beccensis, postea uero Canthuariensis archiepiscopi, tam diligenter fecit describi, ut uix in aliqua uicinarum ecclesiarum similis inueniretur bibliotheca, omnesque pro corrigendis libris suis de nostra ecclesia peterent exemplaria.* Saint Martin of Tournai surely had higher standards than Saint Martin of Pannonhalma, but Herman's description of an ideal *scriptorium* gives an overall impression of how the system of copying books could have worked at Pannonhalma in the late eleventh century.⁶⁵⁷

While reconstructing a medieval library, on the other hand, one must keep in mind the fact that establishing a library necessitated the gathering of old books and the acquisition of new ones.⁶⁵⁸ Although the Pannonhalma book list as it survives in the charter does not differentiate according to genres, it may well have been compiled on the basis of an earlier library catalog or at least another book list. This can be inferred from a mistake of the scribe who copied the charter: while all items are in the nomina-

⁶⁵⁴ Csapodi and Csapodiné Gárdonyi (1994: 12–5).

⁶⁵⁵ Csapodi (1969: 308–12); Csapodi (1979: 165–73).

⁶⁵⁶ Maurus, “Legenda SS. Zoerardi et Benedicti,” *SRH* 2, 357–8.

⁶⁵⁷ Herman of Tournai, “Liber de restauratione monasterii sancti Martini Tornacensis,” *MGH: Scriptores* 14, 313.

⁶⁵⁸ See Lehmann (1920: 44–105); Babcock (1993: 35–49); Sharpe (1995: 399–408).

tive, the item *Ysidorum* is in the accusative, and therefore all the items could have been enumerated in the accusative in the book list or library catalog that served as the basis of the list in the charter.⁶⁵⁹ By the time of inserting the earlier book list or library catalog into the general inventory in the royal charter, changes might have occurred in the collection in terms of new acquisitions and relocations. Since the Pannonhalma charter is a complete inventory of the goods of the monastery, however, it probably contains all the books available there at the time of its composition. Although it is important to stress that this book list is not a proper library catalog, not following the Carolingian model of systematization, and referring to the books as precious objects instead of giving a ‘bibliographical’ description, it also reflects the physical location of the books for liturgical, private and school reading as a *Standortsregister*. In this regard, this inventory mirrors the overall purpose of the charter recording the goods of the monastery.⁶⁶⁰

In terms of the storage of the books, the library of Pannonhalma was a physically divided collection and therefore the term ‘library’ should always be used with caution, keeping in mind the fact that it is nothing more than a shorthand expression for the holding of books regardless of their actual location. While the book list proper starts in line nineteen of the Pannonhalma charter, the entry *VI textus Euangeliorum cum totidem plumaciis*, figures in line nine along with twenty-four chalices among the treasures of the monastery. In a well-equipped medieval monastery, bookchests were available in the church, the sacristy, the refectory (since *Mensis fratrum lectio deesse non debet*), the hospital and the school, corresponding to the use of books in the divine office, private devotion and education. The various books were produced in the same *scriptorium*, and while they were used in different places, they finally ended up in the same library after being replaced. Consequently, the old books were treated in a more or less similar way in the library catalogs.⁶⁶¹ This may hold true for a major monastic center of learning, but probably not for Pannonhalma, where regional traffic and circulation of books between monasteries and cathedrals could supplement the activity of local *scriptoria* at an early stage. One should note, however, that the book list was compiled a century after the foundation of the monastery.⁶⁶²

Among others, two circumstances present particularly major obstacles to the interpretation of medieval library catalogs: the apparent inconsistency of the titles of the books and the lack of information concerning the places where they were stored.⁶⁶³ In

⁶⁵⁹ See Veszprémy (1996b: 327–32); Veszprémy (1997: 83–99). See also Bánhegyi (1996: 15–23); Bánhegyi (2001: 76); Vizkelety (2001a: 110).

⁶⁶⁰ See Gottlieb (1890: 299–329); Ghellinck (1938: 36–55); McKitterick (1989: 178–96); Milde (1996: 269–78).

⁶⁶¹ “Benedicti regula,” CSEL 75, 97. See Lehmann (1957: 2–7); Lentini (1982: 697–700); Mostert (1989: 34); Palazzo (1997: 93–118).

⁶⁶² See Cencetti (1977: 73–97).

⁶⁶³ See Lehmann (1962: 1–93); Derolez (1979); Hlaváček (1979: 186–91); Savino (1990: 789–803); Sharpe (1992: 289–90); Munk Olsen (1997: 511–27); Sharpe (2003: 82–98).

identifying the books according to the titles in the book list, an important factor is that the role of the classical authors in the curriculum influenced the codicological context of the occurrence of the Latin classics. An item mentioned in a book list may not be the only content of a miscellaneous codex. For instance, the eleventh-century library catalog of the monastery of Kremsmünster records Terence, Avianus, Cato and Arator as the contents of the same volume. Another miscellaneous textbook of a monastic school in the Rhine region in the second half of the eleventh century featured various texts related to the liberal arts, including selections from Priscian and Alcuin with grammatical relevance.⁶⁶⁴ Miscellaneous codices were not compiled at random. Even if codices contained classical and patristic texts together, as they frequently did, the manuscripts had an internal coherence, which usually depended on the purpose for which the book was produced. This coherence influenced medieval differentiation between various genres, and thus influenced library classification too.⁶⁶⁵ This is partly the context of the appearance of the liturgical, patristic and classical texts in the Pannonhalma book list. For instance, as Albert Siegmund argued, it is possible that the entry *Psalterium gallicanum, ebraycum, grecum* at the end of the list does not refer to three different codices but to a single codex, a *psalterium triplex* containing these three variants of the Psalter.⁶⁶⁶

While the majority of its entries refer to liturgical and patristic texts, the Pannonhalma book list also contains the following classical items: *Invective Ciceronis, Lucanus, II Donati... III Catones*. Provided that every item refers to one volume in the list, these classical entries (with two volumes of Donatus and three volumes of Cato) constitute almost one tenth of the complete collection. It has already been reasonably proposed that the record of these classical texts relates to their role in teaching and learning Latin in the monastic school and, since these texts served educational purposes, the volumes were probably located where they were actually used, that is, in the school. It is questionable, however, whether they were simply used for elementary Latin education. In order to demonstrate that these texts cannot be dismissed as being merely material for elementary education, since they were in fact textbooks aimed at students already with an advanced command of Latin, it is indispensable to establish what kinds of role they played in better-documented territories. The scarcity of relevant material from medieval Hungary suggests that it is important to examine the overall medieval role of these Latin classics: the significance of their presence in the book list can only be understood in a far broader literary context.⁶⁶⁷

The classical texts appearing in the Pannonhalma book list had in fact been part of

⁶⁶⁴ Herbert Paulhart, ed., *Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge Österreichs*, vol. 5, *Oberösterreich* (Vienna, Cologne, and Graz: Böhlau, 1971), 34; Reiche (1976: 215, 221, 242). See also Reynolds (1996: 7–16).

⁶⁶⁵ See Shailor (1996: 153–67).

⁶⁶⁶ Siegmund (1949: 24). See also Török (1989: 63–76).

⁶⁶⁷ See Csapodi (1957: 14–24). See also Ising (1970: 21–31).

the classical canon. This canon was transmitted to the Middle Ages through the authority of patristic authors. Saint Jerome, for instance, mentions Cicero, Lucan and Donatus, among many other classical Latin authors that constituted a basic part of liberal education, especially grammar and rhetoric: *Puto quod puer legeris Aspri in Vergilium ac Sallustium commentarios, Vulcatii in orationes Ciceronis, Victorini in dialogos eius, et in Terentii comoedias praceptoris mei Donati, aequi in Vergilium, et aliorum in alios, Plautum uidelicet, Lucretium, Flaccum, Persium atque Lucanum.* Reconstructing the significance of the Latin classics in the Pannonhalma collection as a corpus of basic but not altogether elementary schoolbooks in the Middle Ages requires the acknowledgment of their importance in the patristic legacy.⁶⁶⁸

Medieval library catalogs, including the ones from the eleventh century, identify the entry *Invectiue Ciceronis* with Cicero's Catilinarian orations. This identification stems from both the classical grammatical and the patristic apologetic legacy. Priscian's grammar refers to Cicero's *In Catilinam* as *invectiuae* on numerous occasions, for instance: *Cicero primo inuectiuarum: quousque tandem abutere, Catilina, patientia nostra* (Cicero, *In Catilinam* 1.1.1).⁶⁶⁹ After a paraphrased quotation from Cicero's *In Catilinam* 1.1.1, Saint Augustine also refers to the Catilinarian orations as *invectiuae*: *Bene facis, indicare nobis, ne forte non agnosceremus, de inuectiuis Ciceronis te ista sumpsisse atque uertisse: sed non timemus Iulianum, cum uidemus factum esse Tullianum... Cicero inuectus in patriae parricidam, eam defendebat ciuitatem quam rex eius Romulus, congregatis undecumque peccatoribus condidit.*⁶⁷⁰ Late eleventh-century rhetorical compositions use the adverb *invectiue* to describe Cicero's style in the Catilinarian orations: *Neque enim M. Tullius magis invectiue in Catilinam exarsit.*⁶⁷¹ One must note here, however, that another medieval set of identifications drew on the classical tradition of the Roman prose invectives: the invectives against Cicero attributed to Sallust and the invectives against Sallust attributed to Cicero. This tradition influenced Fromund of Tegernsee, for instance, who used the term *invectiuae* to describe the invectives against Sallust attributed to Cicero: *pro libroque inuectiuarum Tullii Ciceronis in Salustum.* Yet another set of identifications used *invectiuae* to refer to Cicero's *Philippicae*. A representative of this tradition is Peter of Blois: *Cum Antonius linguam Ciceronis abscinderet, quae in ipsum dictauerat inuectiwas, dicitur ei Cicero respondisse: "Nil agis, Antoni, scripta diserta manent."*⁶⁷²

⁶⁶⁸ Saint Jerome, "Contra Rufinum," *CCSL* 79, 15. See also Beddie (1930: 3–20).

⁶⁶⁹ Priscian, "Institutionum grammaticarum libri XVIII," *GL* 2, 250, 379, 410, 425, 503, 583, 593, *GL* 3, 32, 44, 61, 82, 84, 87, 89, 96, 109, 157, 207, 233–4, 237, 246, 249–50, 274, 275, 281, 288, 290, 295, 297, 310, 315–6, 318, 320, 330, 333, 363, 370. See also Priscian, "Praeexercitamina," *GL* 3, 437.

⁶⁷⁰ Saint Augustine, "Contra secundam Juliani responsionem," *PL* 45, 1059.

⁶⁷¹ "Die Regensburger rhetorischen Briefe," *MGH: Die Briefe der deutschen Kaiserzeit* 5, 346. See Van Engen (1997: 97–132).

⁶⁷² Fromund of Tegernsee, "Epistolae," *PL* 141, 1290; Peter of Blois, "Epistolae," *PL* 207, 238. See Adamik (1977–1978: 89–100); Koster (1980: 1, 113–33, 177–200). See also Munk Olsen (1982a: 99–350); Rouse and Reeve (1983: 64–5).

Another important aspect of the contribution of the patristic legacy to Cicero's medieval reputation as a master of eloquence is the lasting echo of the judgment in Saint Jerome's famous vision: *Ciceronianus es, non Christianus*. (Jerome's possible classical antecedent is Seneca, *Controversiae* 7.2.12: *ille Ciceronianus cliens*.) From Rufinus of Aquileia, the image of the Ciceronian Jerome often appears in numerous patristic and medieval authors, including Atto of Vercelli, Peter Damian, Ivo of Chartres and Abelard.⁶⁷³ Another popular statement of Saint Jerome's, although apparently negative, also canonized ancient rhetoric: *Daemonum cibus est carmina poetarum, saecularis sapientia, rhetoricon pompa uerborum*. It was quoted by Carolingian and medieval authors such as Hrabanus Maurus and Abelard.⁶⁷⁴ One of the most important mediators of this patristic tradition was Isidore of Seville, who declared *de libris gentilium* that *Cauendi sunt igitur tales libri, et propter amorem sanctarum scripturarum uitandi*. Nonetheless, Isidore read Cicero as carefully as Jerome did.⁶⁷⁵

This patristic and medieval ambivalence notwithstanding, Cicero's Catilinarian orations infiltrated many segments of medieval literacy. They were also present in Charlemagne's court library, as the entry of its catalog attests: *In Catelina Ciceronis libri VIII*.⁶⁷⁶ In 989, Gerbert of Aurillac wrote a letter on behalf of Archbishop Adalbero of Reims to the monks of Saint Peter in Ghent, demanding that they return the books they borrowed from the Reims library. Gerbert clearly alludes to Cicero's *In Catilinam* 1.1.1 in this letter: *Quousque abutemini pacientia, fidissimi quondam, ut putabatur, amici? Caritatem uerbis praetenditis, rapinam exercere parati. Cur sanctissimam societatem abrumpitis? Quosdam codices nobis uestra sponte obtulisti, sed nostri iuris nostreque ecclesie contra diuinias humanasque leges retinetis. Aut librorum restitutione cum adiuncto caritas redintegrabitur, aut depositum male retentum bene merito supplicio condonabitur*. He does so in another letter to Emperor Otto III in 997: *Mirabor abusos impune patientia uestra, qui uirtutem putant ignauiam, cum sint, quod omnes nouimus et dicere non est necesse*.⁶⁷⁷ The reception of Cicero by Notker Labeo, the monk of Saint Gall, was influenced by the works of Boethius.⁶⁷⁸

⁶⁷³ Saint Jerome, "Epistulae," *CSEL* 54, 190; Rufinus of Aquileia, "Apologia contra Hieronymum," *CCSL* 20, 88; Atto of Vercelli, "De pressuris ecclesiasticis," *PL* 134, 75; Kurt Reindel, ed., *MGH: Die Briefe der deutschen Kaiserzeit*, vol. 4.3, *Die Briefe des Petrus Damiani* (Munich: MGH, 1989), 328; Ivo of Chartres, "Decretum," *PL* 161, 303; Abelard, "Theologia Christiana," *CCCM* 12, 188.

⁶⁷⁴ Saint Jerome, "Epistulae," *CSEL* 54, 122; Hrabanus Maurus, "De universo," *PL* 111, 516; Abelard, "Theologia Christiana," *CCCM* 12, 187. See Pease (1919: 150–67); Foligno (1929: 33); Hagendahl (1958: 89–328); Antin (1963: 350–77); Fiske (1965: 119–38); Gawlick (1966: 57–62); Hagendahl (1974: 216–27); Adkin (1992: 408–20); Clarke (1996: 148–57); Harvey (1998: 35–56).

⁶⁷⁵ Isidore of Seville, "Sententiae," *CCSL* 111, 236. See Lehmann (1960c: 625–6).

⁶⁷⁶ See Traube (1892: 558–68); Bischoff (1966a: 233–54); Moorhead (1985: 109–20).

⁶⁷⁷ Fritz Weigle, ed., *MGH: Die Briefe der deutschen Kaiserzeit*, vol. 2, *Die Briefsammlung Gerberts von Reims* (Weimar: Böhlau, 1966), 135, 260. See Haye (1999: 17–41).

⁶⁷⁸ See Sonderegger (1980: 243–66).

Besides the anonymous *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, commonly attributed to Cicero in the Middle Ages, and Cicero's *De inuentione*, which both served as subjects of commentaries by students of classical rhetoric in the eleventh century, the Catilinarian orations provided models for the study of prose styles and *cursus* at the same time.⁶⁷⁹ The *Accessus ad auctores* provided a separate chapter on Cicero: *Accessus Tullii*.⁶⁸⁰ Abelard was also influenced by the Ciceronian tradition in many regards.⁶⁸¹ In the middle of the twelfth century, Abbot Wibald of Stablo did not analyze Cicero in a scholarly fashion but recommended instead the reading of Cicero's works as a sort of dessert: *Fercula Ciceronis nec inter praecipua, nec in prima mensa iam habemus, sed si quando meliori cibo satiatis aliquid libet, sic ea sumimus, sicut secundis mensis apponi solet bellaria*.⁶⁸² As the Latin classics became more popular during the renaissance of the twelfth century, the Catilinarian orations also enjoyed wide attention.⁶⁸³ Finally, they were also translated into vernacular in Tuscany in the thirteenth century.⁶⁸⁴

The entry *Lucanus* in the book list of the Pannonhalma charter refers to Lucan's *Bellum ciuile*. (Lucan himself calls his epic *Pharsalia* – *Bellum ciuile* 9.985–6: *Pharsalia nostra/ uiuet, et a nullo tenebris damnabimur aeuo.*) His minor works, such as the *Orpheus*, can be excluded on the basis that they only appear in the form of quotations in late antique and medieval grammatical works.⁶⁸⁵ Lucan's popularity dates from classical antiquity. His work is already praised by Martial, *Epigrammata* 14.194.1–2: *Sunt quidam qui me dicant non esse poetam:/ sed qui me uendit bybliopola putat.* Comparing Lucan's *Bellum ciuile* to Vergil's *Aeneis*, Quintilian suggested that Lucan's epic was to be imitated by rhetoricians rather than poets (*Institutio oratoria* 10.1.90): *Lucanus ardens et concitatus et sententiis clarissimus et, ut dicam quod sentio, magis oratoribus quam poetis imitandus.* Quintilian's judgment was adapted by Saint Jerome, who also called Lucan *ardens poeta*.⁶⁸⁶ Servius went further, comparing Lucan's epic to historical writings (*In Vergili Aeneidos libros* 12.359: *ut in historiis legimus, item in Lucano*) and even suggesting that Lucan could not be classified as a poet because he seemed to have composed a history and not a poem (*In Vergili Aeneidos libros* 1.382): *Lucanus namque ideo in numero poetarum esse non meruit, quia uidetur historiam composuisse, non poema.* Servius' latter statement is later quoted verbatim in the passage on poets in Isidore of Seville's *Etymologiae* 8.7.10 (Isidore's passage in turn is

⁶⁷⁹ See De Marco (1962: 320–1); Dickey (1968: 1–41).

⁶⁸⁰ R.B.C. Huygens, ed., *Accessus ad auctores* (Brussels: Latomus, 1954), 38.

⁶⁸¹ See D'Anna (1969: 333–419).

⁶⁸² Wibald of Stablo, "Epistolae," *PL* 189, 1299. See Pascal (1955: 111–7).

⁶⁸³ See Hunt (1971: 51–5).

⁶⁸⁴ See Papini (1981: 3–20).

⁶⁸⁵ See Postgate (1905: 257–60); Esposito (1977: 85–92).

⁶⁸⁶ Saint Jerome, "Commentariorum in Esaiam libri," *CCSL* 73A, 632. See Bolaffi (1958: 45); Bonner (1966: 257–89). See also Lehmann (1959: 1–28).

quoted by Hrabanus Maurus). The same statement is also paraphrased in Jordanes (*Lucano plus storico quam poeta testante*).⁶⁸⁷

However, the parallel between the two major epic poets of ancient Rome, Vergil and Lucan, was influential. This parallel is apparent from the similarity of the first hexameter lines of their epitaphs in the grammatical tradition (Probus, *Vita Vergilii: Cuius in sepulcro quod est uia Puteolana, hoc legitur epigramma: Mantua me genuit, Calabri rapuere, tenet nunc/ Parthenope; cecini pascua rura duces*, Donatus, *Vita Vergilii* 36: *intra lapidem secundum, in quo distichon fecit tale: "Mantua me genuit, Calabri rapuere, tenet nunc/ Parthenope; cecini pascua rura duces"*, and *Epitaphion Lucani* 1: *Corduba me genuit, rapuit Nero, proelia dixi.*) Referring to Eusebius, Aldhelm reports in the seventh century that the epitaphs were composed by Vergil and Lucan themselves and that Lucan deliberately imitated Vergil (*Chronica Eusebii Vergilium immidente metu mortis cecinis tradunt et epigramma, quod epitafium uocatur, ad supra- ma exequiarum funera composuisse dicendo: "Mantua me genuit, Calabri rapuere, tenet nunc" ... Quem Lucanus aemulans his uerbis imitabatur dicens: "Corduba me genuit, rapuit Nero, proelia dixi"*).⁶⁸⁸

Lucan's reputation was also transmitted to the Middle Ages through the authority of patristic texts. The popular introduction to his epic (*Bellum ciuile* 1.1–3: *Bella per Emathios plus quam ciuilia campos/ iusque datum sceleri canimus, populumque potenter/ in sua uictrici conuersum uiscera dextra*) is quoted and later paraphrased in Saint Augustine's *De ciuitate Dei* (*Propter unum Caesarem sacerum et unum generum eius Pompeium iam mortua Caesaris filia, uxore Pompei, quanto et quam iusto doloris instinctu Lucanus exclamat: Bella per Emathios plus quam ciuilia campos/ Iusque datum sceleri canimus; et hoc plus quam ciuile bellum fuit*). Although Augustine supposedly preferred Vergil to Lucan, he contributed a great deal to Lucan's medieval reputation.⁶⁸⁹ So did Isidore of Seville, who, besides adapting Servius' view about Lucan being more of a historian than a poet, condemned the reading of the stories of pagan poets in a way that was in effect a promotion and not a prohibition: *Ideo prohibetur christianus figmenta legere poetarum quia per oblectamenta inanum fabularum mentem excitant ad incentiuia libidinum*. Isidore's ambivalent approach is already apparent in his vocabulary: the parallels of his expression *figmenta poetarum* occur in Servius (*In Vergilii Aeneidos libros* 6.719: *figmenta poetica*) and Macrobius (*Commentarii in*

⁶⁸⁷ Hrabanus Maurus, “De universo,” *PL* 111, 419; Jordanes, “Getica,” *MGH: Auctores antiquissimi* 5.1, 65. See Thomson (1928: 24–7); Sanford (1931: 233–57); Blatt (1959: 47–67); Due (1962: 75, 77); Ahl (1968: 124–61); Vinchesi (1979: 2–40); Vinchesi (1981: 62–72, 66–75); Dietz (1995: 61–97).

⁶⁸⁸ Carolus Hosius, ed., *M. Annaei Lucani de bello civili libri decem* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1892), 338; Colinus Hardie, ed., *Vitae Vergiliana antiquae* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1957), 10, 23; Aldhelm, “De metris et enigmatibus ac pedum regulis,” *MGH: Auctores antiquissimi* 15, 88–9. See Norden (1906: 166–77); Pease (1940: 180–2).

⁶⁸⁹ Saint Augustine, “De ciuitate Dei,” *CCSL* 47, 74, 76. See Hosius (1907: 17); Phillips (1991: 158, 162).

Somnium Scipionis 2.10.11: *sub poetici nube figmenti*).⁶⁹⁰ Later, the biography of Abbot Odo of Cluny shows just how effective this ambivalent Isidorian approach was in promoting the reading of pagan poets by prohibition. The biography reports that after he had read Priscian, Odo wanted to read Vergil's poems but a vision prevented him from doing that. He saw himself in a vessel, beautiful on the outside but full of snakes on the inside: Odo understood that the snakes denoted the doctrine of the poets, and the vessel the book of Vergil (*His praeterea diebus nauta noster peritissimus, qui nos suo ductu docuit transmeare gurgites istius mundi, immensum Prisciani transiit transnata tando pelagus. Nam Virgilii cum uoluisset legere carmina, ostentum fuit ei per uisum uas quoddam, deforis quidem pulcherrimum, intus uero plenum serpentibus, a quibus se subito circumuallari conspicit, nec tamen morderi, et euigilans serpentes doctrinam poetarum, uas in quo latitabant, librum Virgilii; uiam uero per quam incedebat ualde sitiens, Christum intellexit*).⁶⁹¹

In a didactic work about poetic meters, Aldhelm explicitly counts Lucan's epic among the heroic hexameters of Homer and Vergil: *Qui sunt exametri heroici? Qui bella et heroum res gestas complectuntur, ueluti est Ilias Homeri uel Aeneidos Vergilii uel libri Lucani proelia Caesaris et Pompei decantantis*.⁶⁹² Bede the Venerable also quotes Lucan in his *De arte metrica: et Lucanus, poeta ueteranus, Caesaris et Pompei proelia descriptus, ita incipit: Bella per Emathios plus quam ciuilia campos/ Iusque datum sceleri canimus populumque potentem/ in sua uictri ciuili conuersum uiscera dextra*.⁶⁹³ As Alcuin's poetic description of the York cathedral library attests, Lucan often figured among the Latin textbooks along with Vergil and Statius (*Quod Maro Virgilius, Statius, Lucanus et Auctor: Artis grammaticae uel quid scripsere magistri*), and the manuscript tradition of his epic indeed flourished in the Carolingian period.⁶⁹⁴ The earliest manuscripts of a set of learned commentaries on Lucan, the *Adnotationes super Lucanum*, also date from the Carolingian period. Later on, Bishop Arnulf of Orléans also produced a *Glosule super Lucanum*.⁶⁹⁵

The description of the teaching activity of Gerbert of Aurillac by Richer of Reims also reflects Servius' approach to Lucan the historian: Richer calls Vergil, Statius and

⁶⁹⁰ Isidore of Seville, "Sententiae," *CCSL* 111, 236. See Gompf (1973: 53–62).

⁶⁹¹ "Vita sancti Odonis," *PL* 133, 49. See Schneider (1979: 6).

⁶⁹² Aldhelm, "De metris et enigmatibus ac pedum regulis," *MGH: Auctores antiquissimi* 15, 83.

⁶⁹³ Bede the Venerable, "De arte metrica," *CCSL* 123A, 115. See Jacob (1932: 3); Davis (1933: 179–95); Laistner (1957: 93–116).

⁶⁹⁴ Alcuin, "Poema de pontificibus et sanctis ecclesiae Eboracensis," *PL* 101, 843–4. See Beck (1900); Gotoff (1966: 319–21); Tarrant (1983: 215–8).

⁶⁹⁵ Johann Endt, ed., *Adnotationes super Lucanum* (Stuttgart: Teubner, 1909); Berthe Marie Marti, ed., *Arnulfi Aurelianensis Glosule super Lucanum* (Rome: American Academy of Rome, 1958); Giuseppe A. Cavajoni, ed., *Supplementum adnotationum super Lucanum*, vol. 1–2 (Milan: Cisalpino and Goliardica, 1979–1984). See also Mountford (1925: 60–77); Marti (1941: 245–54); Walter (1976: 28–33); Porro (1986: 193–7); Werner (1994: 343–68); Werner (1998).

Terence poets, Juvenal, Persius and Horace satirists, and Lucan a historian (*Legit itaque ac docuit Maronem et Statium Terentiumque poetas, Iuuenalem quoque ac Persium Horatiumque satiricos, Lucanum etiam historiographum*).⁶⁹⁶ Direct and indirect borrowings from Lucan's *Bellum ciuile* also appear in hagiographic and historical writings of authors such as Hincmar of Reims (*et frequentia ac ciuilia, immo plus quam ciuilia, quia intestina et parricidalia bella*), Widukind (*Ibi plus quam ciuile et omni calamitate acerbius bellum coeptum*), Thietmar of Merseburg, Wipo (*Haec eadem docuit Lucanum dicere bella/ Caesaris et Magni, quae durant ultima secli*) and Adam of Bremen (*In quo miserabili et plus quam ciuili bello*), who also lists Lucan among such *auctores* as Macrobius and Bede the Venerable (*Cumque Macrobius et Beda uideantur ex illa re aliquid loqui, Lucanus autem nihil se scire fateatur, diuersi auctores uariis pugnant sententiis, omnes autem incertis abeunt rationibus*). Adam's use of the term *auctores* shows that to some extent he treated classical and patristic authors similarly.⁶⁹⁷ (Hungarian scholarship has so far only touched upon the issue of whether the eleventh-century Hungarian *Gesta* composition features traces of reading Lucan directly or in *florilegia*).⁶⁹⁸

Otloh of Saint Emmeram used Lucan as a model of the pagan author: *Inter quae illud est quod, ex persona philosophiae loquens, Lucanum gentilem et infidelem familiarrem suum appellat, dicens: Et familiaris meus Lucanus. Quod enim nulli conueniat dicere gentilem aliquem uerae philosophiae, id est diuinae sapientiae familiarem esse, fidelis quilibet aduertere ualeat.* He was, furthermore, as devoted to reading Lucan as Saint Jerome was to reading Cicero: *Illa tripertita Maronis et inclyta uerba,/ Lectio Lucani, quam maxime tunc adamaua,/ Et cui iam nuper, diuinae legis adulter,/ Sic intentus eram quod uix agerem reliquum quid,/ Atque legentem ipsum cepit me haec passio primum./ Sed neccidum poenas credens exinde futuras,/ Languidus, ut poteram, legi studiosus eumdem,/ Donec ullius uigor exstiterat mihi sensus.* Otloh also expanded on his obsession with Lucan in prose: *Interea ergo cum ibidem aliquandiu hospitarer, contigit quadam die, ut ante fores hospitii dati residens in lectione Lucani occuparer... Verumtamen interea nisu, quo potueram, lectionem Lucani frequentabam.*⁶⁹⁹

⁶⁹⁶ Richer of Reims, "Historiae," *MGH: Scriptores* 38, 194. See Manitius (1892b: 704–19).

⁶⁹⁷ Hincmar of Reims, "Vita Remigii episcopi Remensis," *MGH: Scriptores rerum Merovingicarum* 3, 251; Widukind, "Rerum gestarum Saxoniarum libri tres," *MGH: Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum* 60, 113; Wipo, "Tetralogus," *MGH: Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum* 61, 77; Adam of Bremen, "Gesta Hammaburgensis ecclesiae pontificum," *MGH: Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum* 2, 87, 279. See Fickermann (1957: 21–76); Buchner (1965: 96–101); Gärtner (2002: 65–9); Warner (2002: 95–6).

⁶⁹⁸ See Bertényi (1960: 918).

⁶⁹⁹ Otloh of Saint Emmeram, "Dialogus de tribus quaestionibus," *PL* 146, 62; Otloh of Saint Emmeram, "De doctrina spirituali liber metricus," *PL* 146, 279; Otloh of Saint Emmeram, "Liber visionum," *MGH: Quellen zur Geistesgeschichte des Mittelalters* 13, 45. See Fischli (1944: 22); Bischoff (1967a: 77–115); Röckelein (1986: 41–57); Vinay (1989: 151–69).

At the beginning of the twelfth century, the anonymous *Vita Heinrici IV. imperatoris* also frequently quoted Lucan.⁷⁰⁰ The *Accessus ad auctores* provides an entire chapter on Lucan under the heading *Accessus Lucani*.⁷⁰¹ At the beginning of the twelfth century, Conrad of Hirsau presented an overview of the Latin classics known to his day. In the *Dialogus super auctores*, Conrad not only provides a commentary on Lucan but also gives an insight into the changing canon of classical authors in the Middle Ages when he divides them into the categories of minor and major authors (*a minoribus quibuscumque auctoribus inciperem et per hos ad maiores peruenirem et gradus auctorum inferiorum occasio mihi fierent in discendo superiorum*): the minor ones are Aesop, the *Disticha Catonis*, Donatus, Juvencus, Prosper of Aquitaine, Sedulius, Avianus and Theodulus. The major ones (*ueniamus nunc ad romanos auctores*) are Cicero, Sallust, Vergil, Horace, Ovid, Persius, Lucan, Statius, Juvenal, Prudentius, Boethius, Arator and the *Ilias Latina*.⁷⁰²

Lucan also appears in twelfth-century authors such as Rupert of Deutz and Abelard.⁷⁰³ Otto of Freising gives an appreciation of the stylistic and philosophical depth of Vergil and Lucan: *Nam et Lucanus, Virgilius caeterique Urbis scriptores non solum res gestas, sed etiam fabulosas, siue more pastorum uel colonorum summissius uel principum dominorumque orbis altius narrando, stilum tamen frequenter ad intima quaedam phylosophiae secreta attingenda sustulerunt*.⁷⁰⁴ John of Salisbury mentions Lucan along with Homer and Vergil (*signa, quae Virgilius et Lucanus diuino comprehendunt ingenio* and *Si autem ab auctoribus transsumantur, Homero quidem Graecus, Latinus autem, Virgilio utatur et Lucano*).⁷⁰⁵ So does Alan of Lille in the *Anticlaudianus*: *Ouidii fulmen, Lucani fulmen, abyssum/ Virgili, morsus Satyrae, Solonis asylum*.⁷⁰⁶ Popular lines of Lucan's *Bellum ciuale* were incorporated into *florilegia* and thus infiltrated the *exempla* literature as well.⁷⁰⁷ Modeled on the term *auctorista*, a Lucan specialist was called *Lucanista* in the thirteenth century, when Lucan's text started to occur in vernacular epics and later in translations.⁷⁰⁸

From what students were actually learning elementary Latin grammar may not even

⁷⁰⁰ "Vita Heinrici IV. imperatoris," *MGH: Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum* 58, passim.

⁷⁰¹ R.B.C. Huygens, ed., *Accessus ad auctores* (Brussels: Latomus, 1954), 34–8. See also Sanford (1934b: 278–95); Huygens (1953: 471–5).

⁷⁰² Black (2001: 173–4). See also Hamilton (1909: 169–85); Huygens (1954a: 420–8); Paladini and De Marco (1970: 105); Whitbread (1972: 234–45); Tunberg (1987: 65–94).

⁷⁰³ See Silvestre (1950: 140–74); Moos (1975: 1024–59).

⁷⁰⁴ Otto of Freising, "Gesta Friderici I. imperatoris," *MGH: Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum* 46, 12. See Krönert (2002: 33–73).

⁷⁰⁵ Clemens C.I. Webb, ed., *Ioannis Saresberiensis episcopi Carnotensis Politicratici sive de nugis curialium et vestigiis philosophorum libri VIII*, vol. 1 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1909), 70; John of Salisbury, "Metalogicon," *CCCM* 98, 133. See Moos (1979: 127–86).

⁷⁰⁶ Alan of Lille, "Anticlaudianus," *PL* 210, 505.

⁷⁰⁷ See Sanford (1934a: 1–19); Jennings (1974: 215–33). See also Skard (1957: 156–7).

⁷⁰⁸ See Crosland (1930: 32–51); Lucas (1970: 225–53).

be listed in the book list of the Pannonhalma charter. The entry *II Donati* in the book list refers to two copies of the *Ars grammatica* of Donatus. Along with Priscian's *Institutiones grammaticae*, it was the basic Latin grammar in the Middle Ages. The *Ars grammatica* consisted of the *Ars minor* (*De partibus orationis*) and the *Ars maior*. Manuscripts usually contain the *Ars minor* first and the *Ars maior* later.⁷⁰⁹

Isidore of Seville provides an explanation of the alternative title of the *Ars minor*, *De partibus orationis* (*Etymologiae* 1.6.1): *Partes orationis primus Aristoteles duas tradidit, nomen et uerbum; deinde Donatus octo definiuit*. Nevertheless, there were authors who pretended to consider Donatus' grammar unworthy. Apart from the direct evidence from the manuscript tradition, the early medieval dissemination of Donatus can be inferred from the dedicatory letter of Gregory the Great to his *Moralia in Iob*: *Nam sicut huius quoque epistolae tenor enuntiat, non metacismi collisionem fugio, non barbarismi confusionem deuito, situs modosque etiam et praepositionum casus seruare contemno, quia indignum uehementer existimo, ut uerba caelestis oraculi restringam sub regulis Donati*. (His statement about Donatus is taken over by Gunzo of Novara: *Sed quis tam excerebratus, ut putet uerba sacri eloquii stringi regulis Donati aut Prisciani?*) Gregory refers here to the *De barbarismo* of Donatus, a work on stylistic errors. Henri de Lubac calls this hostile approach towards Donatus *un manifeste d'obscurantisme* because Gregory usually argued for the importance of the liberal arts, including grammar, in Christian education in general and in understanding the word of God in particular: *Ad hoc quidem tantum liberales artes discenda sunt, ut per instructionem illarum diuina eloquia subtilius intellegantur. A nonnullorum cordibus discendi desiderium maligni spiritus tollunt, ut et saecularia nesciant et ad subtilitatem spiritualium non pertingant... Aperte quidem daemones sciunt, quia, dum saecularibus litteris instruimur, in spiritualibus adiuuamur. Cum ergo nos ea discere dissudent, quid aliud quam, ne lanceam aut gladium faciamus, praecaudent?* Gregory suggested that secular learning was also God's gift: *Hanc quippe saecularem scientiam omnipotens deus in plano anteposuit, ut nobis ascendendi gradum faceret, qui nos ad diuinae scripturae altitudinem leuare debuisset*. This approach, regarding grammar and the liberal arts as unworthy in themselves but necessary in understanding the Bible, is also applied by Berno of Reichenau in the early eleventh century: *Et mirum in modum, dum quidam huius mundi sapientes uideri et esse uolunt, per superstitosam intelligentiam sacrae scripturae uerba suo sensui applicare conantur, et uerba, quae ipsa Dei uirtus et Dei sapientia per se protulit, uel Spiritus sanctus per ora prophetarum ac apostolorum praedixit, aliter secundum Donatum et Priscianum permutoando canunt et dicunt, dum omnis philosophia mundana et saecularis scientiae doctrina originem a*

⁷⁰⁹ Donatus, "Ars grammatica," *GL* 4, 353–402. See *GL* 4, xxxv; Chase (1926); Brugnoli (1965: 139–49); Holtz (1977b: 522–38); Holtz (1981: 217–326); Ó Cróinín (1983: 307–11); Serbat (1983: 56–64); Contreni (1992a: I.1–21); Beck (1996).

sacrae scripturae auctoritate sumpserint. Quae enim est consequentia, ut Priscianus audiatur, et ueritas, quae Deus est, contemnatur? Sic enim Terentius, Virgilius, Tullius, caeterique liberalium litterarum sequaces in suis scripturis hoc meruerunt, ut eorum dicta permanerent inconulsa. This tradition originates in the patristic perception of grammar. Saint Augustine, for instance, prefers *barbarismus* to *disertitudo*: *Quid ad nos quid grammatici uelint? Melius in barbarismo nostro uos intellegitis, quam in nostra disertitudine uos deserti eritis.*⁷¹⁰

A statement attributed to Bede the Venerable complains that teachers often altered the arts of Donatus, by means of inserting new passages, declensions or conjugations in the grammar, in order to adjust it to their specific needs; therefore only the oldest codices provided Donatus' text in its integrity (*Artium Donati liber ita a plerisque uitiatus est et corruptus, dum unusquisque pro libitu suo, siue ex aliis auctoribus, quod ei uisum est addidit, siue declinationes aut coniugationes et caeterum huiusmodi inse- ruit, ut nisi in antiquis codicibus, uix purus et integer ut ab eo est editus, reperiatur. Quod ne nos quoque fecisse uideamur, qua ex causa praesens digesserimus opusculum breuiter in eliminari paginola exponendum esse censuimus*).⁷¹¹ Although “to Carolingians,” for instance, “Donatus meant the grammar, not the man,” the *Ars minor* and *Ars maior* were not elementary school grammars. The reason why ordinary school-masters wrote commentaries on them was that beginners did not fully understand them on their own. Carolingian scholars, on the other hand, provided sophisticated commentaries on Donatus: these included the works of Smaragdus of Saint Mihiel, Sedulius Scottus and Murethach, as well as the anonymous *Ars Ambrosiana* and the *Ars Laureshamensis*.⁷¹²

In the eleventh century, Peter Damian followed the apparently unfavorable but characteristically ambivalent approach of Gregory the Great. The ones who abandon the rules of Benedict for the rules of Donatus, Peter Damian wrote, are similar to the ones who abandon their wives for prostitutes (*Ut autem cum stomacho loquar, ex istorum numero sunt hii, qui gramaticum uulgas adeunt, qui relictis spiritualibus studiis addiscere terrena artis ineptias concupiscunt, paruipendentes siquidem regulam Benedicti, regulis gaudent uacare Donati. Hii porro fastidientes ecclesiastice disci-*

⁷¹⁰ Gregory the Great, “Moralia in Iob,” *CCSL* 143, 7; Gregory the Great, “In librum primum Regum expositionum libri VI,” *CCSL* 144, 471, 472; Gunzo of Novara, “Epistola ad Augienses fratres,” *PL* 136, 1288; Berno of Reichenau, “De varia psalmorum atque cantuum modulatione,” *PL* 142, 1145–6; Saint Augustine, “Enarrationes in Psalmos,” *CCSL* 38, 371. See Lubac (1960: 185–226); Riché (1962a: 187–200); Janson (1964: 162–8); Scivoletto (1964: 210–38); Pascal (1966: 193–7); Richter (1979: 16–34); Coletti (1982: 283–99); Holtz (1986: 531–40); Vainio (1999: 122).

⁷¹¹ Schmitz (1908: 69).

⁷¹² Smaragdus of Saint Mihiel, “Liber in partibus Donati,” *CCCM* 68; Sedulius Scottus, “In Donati artem maiorem,” *CCCM* 40B; Murethach, “In Donati artem maiorem,” *CCCM* 40; “Ars Ambrosiana: Commentum anonymum in Donati partes maiores,” *CCSL* 133C; “Ars Laureshamensis: Expositio in Donatum maiorem,” *CCCM* 40A. See Leclercq (1948: 15–22); Ó Cróinín (1983: 307); Löfstedt (1984: 433–42).

pline peritiam, et secularibus studiis inhiantes, quid aliud quam in fidei thalamo conjugem relinquere castam, et ad scenicas uidentur descendere prostitutas? Et, ut ita fatear, meretricum lenociniis oblectati dant repudium liberis, ut uiolato nuptiali federe sotentur ancillis).⁷¹³ In spite of Peter Damian's apparent aversion, however, Donatus did not go out of fashion. On the contrary, his grammar was so widespread that other grammars were composed on its model in the later Middle Ages to help Greeks learn Latin: these grammars were called *Donatus Graecus*, *Donatus Graece*, *Donatus in Graeco* and *Donatus Graecorum*. A Byzantine monk in Constantinople with Venetian connections, Maximos Planudes, translated the *Ars minor* (and also Caesar, Cicero, Ovid, the *Disticha Catonis*, Saint Augustine and Boethius) into Greek at the end of the thirteenth century. Although the grammar was also translated into Provençal and later into French, the new grammars of Eberhard of Béthune and Alexander of Villedieu became more popular and put both Donatus and Priscian aside.⁷¹⁴

The entry *III Catones* in the book list of the Pannonhalma charter refers to copies of the *Disticha Catonis*, a collection of hexameters conveniently attributed to Marcus Porcius Cato the Censor. Roman inscriptions provide evidence that some of its proverbs were already circulating in the second century. Along with another collection, the *Monosticha Catonis*, with a less extensive manuscript tradition, the *Disticha Catonis* is a Stoic compendium of proverbial wisdom and practical pagan ethics used as a textbook in a Carolingian re-edition. The *Disticha* drew on virtually all the Latin classics, but medieval commentators converted Cato into a Christian moralist and the work, also called *Dicta*, *Praecepta* and *Moralia*, served as a standard reader for the study of Latin: its moralizing content made it a convenient text for grammatical exercise and thus a proper introductory material to Latin grammar in the Middle Ages.⁷¹⁵ Amplified with lines taken over from Christian sources that were incorporated into the text during the copying activity of its manuscripts, the *Disticha Catonis* was often included in manuals along with patristic and classical authors such as Terence, Cicero, Vergil, Horace, Ovid, Lucan, Macrobius and Priscian. Carolingian manuscripts and library catalogs also called the work *Liber Catonis*, *Libri Catonis philosophi*, *Marci Catonis ad filium libri* and *Dicta Marci Catonis ad filium suum*.⁷¹⁶

⁷¹³ Kurt Reindel, ed., *MGH: Die Briefe der deutschen Kaiserzeit*, vol. 4.4, *Die Briefe des Petrus Damiani* (Munich: MGH, 1993), 34–5. See Giesebeck (1845: 32); Rónay (1941: 325–30); Sandys (1958: 520).

⁷¹⁴ See Schmitt (1975: 205–13); Schmitt (1979: 97–108); Colombo Timelli (1996).

⁷¹⁵ Géza Némethy, ed., *Dicta Catonis quae vulgo inscribuntur Catonis disticha de moribus* (Budapest: Franklin Nyomda, 1895); Marcus Boas, ed., *Die Epistola Catonis* (Amsterdam: North-Holland, 1934); Marcus Boas and Johannes Botschuyver, ed., *Disticha Catonis* (Amsterdam: North-Holland, 1952); J. Wight Duff and Arnold M. Duff, ed., *Minor Latin Poets*, vol. 2 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press; London: Heinemann, 1982), 585–91. See Némethy (1889: 128–44); Stechert (1912); Boas (1914: 17–46); Chase (1922); Schanz (1922: 34–41); Hazelton (1957: 157–73); Bolgar (1958: 124–5); Beer (1972: 52–9); Roos (1984); Rädle (1995: 45–8).

⁷¹⁶ See Cipolla (1880: 517–36); Sanford (1924: 190–248).

Remigius of Auxerre commented on the *Disticha Catonis*: his commentary was frequently copied also in the eleventh century and usually followed the verses of the *Disticha Catonis* in the codices. Remigius provides the following introduction to the work: *Quatuor sunt requirenda in initio uniuscuiusque libri: persona uidelicet, locus, tempus et causa scribendi. Sed istius Catonis persona ignoratur, licet nomen sciatur. Duos enim Catones legimus fuisse, unum Uticensem ab Utica ciuitate Africæ, ubi mortuus fuit, cum fugeret Iulium Cesarem per arenariam solitudinem, alterum Censorinum; sed neuter illorum fuit iste Cato. Locus in hoc cognoscitur, quia scimus eum Romanum fuisse; tempus, quia moderno tempore fuit post Virgilium et Lucanum, unde et ex illorum libris exempla sumpsit. Alii Catones ueteres fuerunt, ante Virgilium et Lucanum. Scripsit hunc librum ad filium suum insinuans ei rationem.*⁷¹⁷ Remigius of Auxerre's commentary on the *Disticha Catonis* was an antecedent of the chapter *Accessus Catonis* of the *Accessus ad auctores*. This chapter starts in the following way: *Duo Catones erant Rome, Censorinus Cato et Uticensis Cato. Ideo Censorinus dicitur Cato, quia bonus iudex erat et de omnibus iuste iudicabat. Ideo autem Uticensis Cato dicitur, quia deuicit Uticam, que est regio in Romano imperio. Sed Censorinus Cato cum uideret iuuenes et pueras in magno errore uersari scripsit hunc libellum ad filium suum insinuans ei rationem bene uiuendi, et per eum docens cunctos homines ut iuste et caste uiuant. Alii dicunt quod huic libello nomen non ab auctore, sed a materia sit inditum: catus enim sapiens dicitur. Dicitur autem ideo ad filium suum scripsisse, ut eo utiliora collegisse putetur. Materia eius sunt precepta bene et caste uiuendi. Intentio eius est representare nobis qua uia tendamus ad ueram salutem, et ut diligenter eam appetamus et omni studio inquiramus non ad tempus, sed perseueranter. Utilitas est hunc librum legentibus ut uitam suam sapienter instituere agnoscant. Ethice subponitur quia ad utilitatem morum nititur. Premittit itaque prologum in quo nos attentos dociles beniuolos fieri desiderat. Quippe dum dicit "grauius" attentos nos reddit. Dum uero dicit ubi errorem illum intellexerit, scilicet "in uia morum," in ipsorum morum consideratione dociles nos reddit. Dum autem uocat nos filios dicens "fili karissime" beniuolos nos reddit.*⁷¹⁸

In recommending his own collection of proverbs, Otloh of Saint Emmeram provides an excellent insight into the instruction of elementary Latin in a monastic setting. After reading the Psalter, schoolboys can be instructed by using Otloh's collection of proverbs, because they are shorter than Avianus' fables and more useful than Cato's words. The *Disticha Catonis* are being taught everywhere, by schoolmasters who forget that the faithful should first be exposed to the sacred rather than the pagan material, in order that students be able to study later the secular works related to grammar more securely (*Prouerbiorum autem hic collectorum dictis paruuli quilibet scolastici, si ita cuiquam placeat, possunt apte instrui post lectionem psalterii. Sunt enim multo breuiores*).

⁷¹⁷ Ruhe (1968: 17). See Mancini (1902: 175–98); Manitius (1913: 79–113); De Marco (1952a: 466–7).

⁷¹⁸ Huygens (see n. 701, 15–6). See Huygens (1953: 304–5); Navone (1982: 311–27).

*ris et planioris sententiae, quam illa fabulosa Auiani dicta; sed et utiliora quam quae-dam Catonis uerba, quae utraque omnes pene magistri legere solent ad prima puerorum documenta, non attendentes quia tam paruulis quam senioribus Christi fidelibus sacra potius quam gentilia rudimenta primitus sint exhibenda, ut, in his aliquatenus instructi, postea saeculares litteras arti grammaticae congruas securius discant... Haec uos, discipuli, pariterque notate, magistri;/ Haec, rogo, deuote, pueri et iuuenes, legitote).*⁷¹⁹

The vernacular translations confirm Otloh's statement about the popularity of the *Disticha Catonis*. The work was translated into Anglo-Saxon in the tenth, Old English in the fourteenth, and Middle English in the fifteenth century.⁷²⁰ In the early eleventh century Notker Labeo provided an Old High German translation in Saint Gall, now lost. However, later German translations survive from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.⁷²¹ The *Disticha Catonis* also influenced vernacular literature, such as the thirteenth-century Old French epic, indirectly via *florilegia* and late *glossulae*. Although the Greek translation by Maximos Planudes was virtually unknown in the Middle Ages, it plausibly illustrates the wide proliferation of the Latin original.⁷²² It also survives in a Catalan translation in a manuscript in Seville, dated to 1462.⁷²³ The work was also present in medieval Sweden: Bishop Siward of Uppsala owned one of its copies in his library around 1130; a manuscript from the Vadstena monastery, written after 1384, indicates that the monastery possessed a copy as well; the inventory of the Skara cathedral library, compiled in 1475, also lists a copy of the *Disticha Catonis*.⁷²⁴

The popular etymologies of geographical names in the chronicle literature of medieval Hungary possibly illustrate the influence of the work, because the reason for mentioning Cato's name was most probably the popularity of the *Disticha Catonis*. Simon of Kéza provides the following etymology: *in Apuliam et Calabriam, ubi Regionam ciuitatem et Cathonam, in qua Cato natus habitauit*. A slightly different version of Simon's etymology appears in the fourteenth-century chronicle composition: *Apuliam, Terram Laboris et Calabriam usque Regionam ciuitatem et Catonam, quam sapiens Cato fundasse dicitur*.⁷²⁵

In a wider European context, foreign parallels can help to define the standard of the eleventh-century library of the Pannonhalma monastery with regard to its few Latin

⁷¹⁹ Otloh of Saint Emmeram, "Liber proverbiorum," *PL* 146, 300–2. See Manitius (1892b: 156–71); Munk Olsen (1996b: 1–17).

⁷²⁰ See Nehab (1879: 46–54); Goldberg (1883: 7–24, 41–63); Arngart (1951–1952: 95–118); Hazelton (1960: 357–80).

⁷²¹ See Mitzka (1929: 3–20); Zarncke (1966).

⁷²² See Krumbacher (1897: 544–5); Schmitt (1967: 325–34); Schmitt (1968: 127–47); Opelt (1986: 175–91); Ortoleva (1991: 93–101).

⁷²³ See Farrés (1983: 9–33).

⁷²⁴ See Öberg (1976: 264–73). See also Frank (1909: 82–3).

⁷²⁵ Simon of Kéza, "Gesta Hungarorum," *SRH* 1, 160; "Chronici Hungarici compositio saeculi XIV.," *SRH* 1, 274.

classics. According to earlier and contemporary library catalogs, nearly all the monastic and cathedral libraries had copies of Cicero, Lucan, Donatus and the *Disticha Catonis*. Their classical holdings generally differed from each other, but the presence of these standard classical authors in the libraries suggests that the Pannonhalma book list does not simply feature a random selection of classical school texts.⁷²⁶

Catalog entries of the following libraries can be taken into consideration for the sake of comparison – Lorsch (ninth century): *Annaei Lucani belli ciuilis libri*; Passau (903): *De arte grammatica...*, *Donatum minorem et maiorem et opus Albini in Donatum...* and *libri Catonis IIII*;⁷²⁷ Saint Emmeram (tenth century): *orthographia Ciceronis...*, *Topica Ciceronis...*, *Rhetorica Ciceronis...* and *Catones*; Echternach (end of the tenth century): Terence, Cicero (*Somnium Scipionis*), Sallust, Vergil, Horace, Lucan, Persius, Statius, Juvenal, *Seruiolus*, Macrobius (*Commentarii in Somnium Scipionis*), Priscian (*Partitiones duodecim uersuum Aeneidos principalium*), *Disticha Catonis* and *Accessus Catonis*;⁷²⁸ Bobbio (tenth and eleventh centuries): *sinonima Ciceronis...*, *libros Donati tres et in uno ex his habentur sinonima Ciceronis...*, *librum I Ciceronis in quo sunt topica et partitiones...*, *contra Catilinam librum I...*, *librum Ciceronis de senectute...*, *Lucani libros IV...* and *Disticha Catonis* (four copies);⁷²⁹ Pomposa (eleventh century): rich classical collection;⁷³⁰ Monte Cassino (eleventh century): *Ciceronem de natura deorum*; Saint Gall (1020): *Philippica*; Liège (eleventh century): *rettorica de inuentione*; Puy (eleventh century): *liber cui topica titulus est...*, *Cicero de retoriciis diuisus duobus libris...*, *Cicero de inuectiuis et cum somnio Scipionis...*, *in quo continetur liber Catonis...*, *liber Catonis...*, *est et tertius liber Catonis...* and *commentum Catonis*; Anchin (late eleventh century): Terence, Cicero, Sallust, Vergil, Horace, Lucan, Persius, Statius, Juvenal, *Seruiellus*, Donatus, Macrobius, Martianus Capella, Priscian, *Priscianellus* and *Disticha Catonis*;⁷³¹ Ripoll (eleventh century): Terence, Cicero, Vergil, Lucan, Juvenal, Donatus (four copies), Macrobius, Priscian and *Disticha Catonis*;⁷³² Fleury (eleventh century): rich classical collection;⁷³³ Cluny (middle of the twelfth century): virtually all the Latin classics;⁷³⁴ Gorze (eleventh century): *Expositio Remigii...*, *super Bedam de arte metrica* of Remigius of Auxerre, *Donati perfecti III. V imperfecti...*, *liber Catonis* and *Expositio maioris Donati*;⁷³⁵ Reichenau (1020): *rheto-*

⁷²⁶ See Manitius (1892a: 14–22, 54–7, 74–6, 86–7); Manitius (1892b: 704–19).

⁷²⁷ Christine Elisabeth Ineichen-Eder, ed., *Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge*, vol. 4.1, *Bistümer Passau und Regensburg* (Munich: Beck, 1977), 24–6.

⁷²⁸ Schroeder (1977: 39–57).

⁷²⁹ Genest (1996: 251–60).

⁷³⁰ Manfredi (1996: 45–53).

⁷³¹ Gessler (1935: 49–116).

⁷³² Beer (1907: 106–9).

⁷³³ Pellegrin (1984–1985: 155–67).

⁷³⁴ See Giocarnis (1966: 310–48); Vezin (1967: 312–20).

⁷³⁵ Morin (1905: 1–14); Wagner (1996: 101–90).

rica Ciceronis; Tegernsee (second half of the eleventh century): *Donatus...*, *Librum super Donatum...* and *commentum in Lucanum*;⁷³⁶ Einsiedeln and Michelsberg (eleventh century): rich classical collection;⁷³⁷ Kremsmünster (1020): *Disticha Catonis* (two copies) and *Donatum et expositionem eius*;⁷³⁸ Reisbach (eleventh century): *unus M.T. Ciceronis de senectute et de amicitia qui et uocatur Cato maior...* and *sinonima Ciceronis*; Saint Egmont (1090): *Tullius de senectute...*, *Tullius de locis...*, *Tullius de amicitia...*, *orationes Tullii ad Gayum Cesarem...*, *Commentum Tullii super definitiones...*, *Tullium custodium anarum* (that is, *Tusculanarum*)..., *liber Ciceronis de senectute...*, *cum inuictiuis Tullii in Catilinam...*, *Tullium de senectute et de amicitia...*, *duos libros prime partis rethorice Tullii...*, *Inuictiwas Tullii...* and *Inuictiwas Tullit*; Blaubeuren (1085–1101): *Tullius de amicitia, idem de senectute...*, *Tullius de senectute idemque de amicitia...*, *Donatus maior* and *Disticha Catonis* (two copies);⁷³⁹ Weihenstephan (eleventh century): *De octo partibus orationis*; Füssen (end of the eleventh century): Sallust, Vergil, Donatus (four copies), Priscian and *Disticha Catonis* (two copies); Saint Lambrecht (end of the twelfth century): Cicero (two copies), Lucan, Donatus and *Disticha Catonis* (two copies).

Earlier analyses of the classical material in the library catalogs of monasteries in Germany have shown that they contributed to a considerable extent to the survival of ancient Roman literature.⁷⁴¹ Compared to its own type, however, Pannonhalma also represents a fairly decent standard. The library of Bury St. Edmunds, for instance, apparently had only one classical Latin author in the eleventh century: Donatus. (It developed a significant classical collection in the twelfth century.)⁷⁴² In the eleventh century, the library of Spalato in Dalmatia possessed liturgical books and Saint Benedict's Rule but no classical author.⁷⁴³

Scholars have already explored the cultural implications of the major representatives of these parallel library holdings.⁷⁴⁴ The classical holdings of the rich monastic

⁷³⁶ See Eder (1972: 52–135); Glauche (1998: 159–70).

⁷³⁷ See Dengler-Schreiber (1979: 150–205); Lang (1996: 275–98); Tischler (1999: 93–181).

⁷³⁸ Paulhart (see n. 664, 34).

⁷³⁹ Paul Lehmann, ed., *Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge Deutschlands und der Schweiz*, vol. 1, *Die Bistümer Konstanz und Chur* (Munich: Beck, 1918), 19–20.

⁷⁴⁰ Paul Ruf, ed., *Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge Deutschlands und der Schweiz*, vol. 3.1, *Bistum Augsburg* (Munich: Beck, 1932), 112–8; Glauche and Knaus (see n. 102, 645–9).

⁷⁴¹ See Lehmann (1960a: 149–72).

⁷⁴² See Thomson (1972: 617–45); Sharpe, Carley, Thomson, and Watson (see n. 107, 43–50). See also Grierson (1940: 96–116).

⁷⁴³ Franjo Rački, ed., *Monumenta spectantia historiam Slavorum meridionalium*, vol. 7, *Documenta historiae Chroatiae periodum antiquam illustrantia* (Zagreb: Academia Scientiarum et Artium, 1877), 182. See also Ivan Kukuljević Sakcinski, ed., *Codex diplomaticus regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae et Slavoniae*, vol. 1, *Ab anno 503 usque ad annum 1102* (Zagreb: Albrecht, 1874), 111–2, 152–3, 170–6, 189.

⁷⁴⁴ See Löffler (1922); Kottje (1969: 145–62); Ehlers (1996: 29–52).

houses have also received appropriate attention.⁷⁴⁵ In the light of the findings of earlier scholarship on these rich libraries, it becomes more feasible to evaluate the significance of the Latin classics in Pannonhalma. For it was the same patristic legacy that ultimately influenced the establishment of the monastic library holdings both in the eminent houses in the West and in Pannonhalma. This is all the more so because the establishment of the Pannonhalma collection obviously drew on these Western models. Symbolically speaking, Saint Jerome's vision (*Ciceronianus es, non Christianus*) influenced the formation of the classical canon in the Middle Ages as well as the classical erudition of Saint Ambrose or the Augustinian interpretation of the *spoliatio Aegyptiorum*: the part of the pagan heritage that is useful in Christian education is worth adapting and conserving.⁷⁴⁶ Clearly not as a direct consequence of these patristic criteria but beyond doubt in their spirit, monastic education conserved something of the *litteratus* idea of ancient Rome through the strong contribution of Carolingian *scriptoria*.⁷⁴⁷

The question is not if but how Pannonhalma fits into this pattern of late eleventh-century monastic education, which already represents a transition to a period when the number of *florilegia* containing classical texts radically increases but at the same time the primary role of the Benedictine monasteries is gradually taken over by the cathedral schools and not least by the Cistercians, also building on the classical heritage transmitted by the Benedictines.⁷⁴⁸ In the context of its parallels, the Pannonhalma library featured some of the classical texts that were standard textbooks of monastic schooling.⁷⁴⁹ On the other hand, even a Merovingian monastery had a better collection of classical authors. A library catalog surviving in an eighth-century codex supposedly from Corbie, for instance, records classical authors such as Terence, Cicero, Sallust, Tibullus, Horace, Lucan, Statius, Martial, Juvenal and Servius.⁷⁵⁰ When Elemér Mályusz argued that the Pannonhalma library represented the Merovingian level only, he meant to illustrate its fairly low cultural standard. His argument was criticized by Endre Ivánka, who suggested that the library was well equipped. With Corbie in mind, however, the assessment by Mályusz now seems like a compliment: overall, the library of the monastery of Pannonhalma had a small share in what medieval Latin philologists call the Benedictine Order's role in the transmission of the literature of ancient Rome in the Middle Ages.⁷⁵¹

⁷⁴⁵ See Lehmann (1960b: 173–83); Leclercq (1961: 116–51); Leclercq (1969: 69–113); Bischoff (1981: 165–90); Magistrale (1996: 17–24); Crossas López (1998: 14–9); Riché (1998: 551–8).

⁷⁴⁶ Saint Jerome, "Epistulae," CSEL 54, 190; Saint Augustine, "De doctrina Christiana," CCSL 32, 73–7. See also Zelzer (1987: 201–26).

⁷⁴⁷ See Grundmann (1958: 1–65); Bischoff (1966a: 233–54).

⁷⁴⁸ See Rouse (1979: 131–60); Munk Olsen (1982b: 151–64); Munk Olsen (1984: 64–102). See also Rouse and Rouse (1982: 165–80); Hamesse (1990: 209–30).

⁷⁴⁹ See Csapodi (1984b: 55–69). See also Della Casa (1982: 667–71).

⁷⁵⁰ See Ullman (1954: 24–37); Bischoff (1966b: 49–63); Ganz (1990: 151–8).

⁷⁵¹ Mályusz (1933: 348–51); Ivánka (1937: 223–4); Koszta (1999b: 182). See also Mezey (1979: 102); Nemerkényi (1999: 25–31).

CONCLUSION

Providing a reconciliation of classical authors and Christianity in his *Antibarbarorum liber*, Erasmus of Rotterdam once wrote the following: *Quo tandem iure o uos Gothi, e uestris egressi limitibus, non modo Latinorum prouincias occupatis (disciplinas loquor liberales) uerum eciam ipsam urbem rerum dominam, Latinitatem audetis incessere?... Sic contempsit Augustinus ethnicas disciplinas, at tum posteaquam principatum esset in hiis assecutus. Sic literas Ciceronianas et Platonicas Hieronimus, ut nichilominus et egregie teneat, et passim utatur... Ardet apud inferos Vergilius, et eius poemata cantat Christianus? Quasi non et multi Christiani illic ardeant quorum si qua bene scripta supersunt, nemo tamen iccirco respuenda putet... A moribus uero apostolicis tam absimus quam a nobis India. Quod si nos apostolorum rusticatatem imitandi tantopere studium habet, miror cur non etiam piscari incipiamus. Sed extra iocum, Ambrosium imitari metus est? Hieronimum imitari religio est? Isti, inquiunt, nondum Christiani, et pueri adhuc, literis illis sunt imbuti.*⁷⁵²

Regardless of the enormous difference between the classical erudition of Erasmus and the training of the literate persons of eleventh-century Hungary, the latter also left similar traces of their approach to the Latin classics. However, the relevant evidence is fragmentary. Still, instead of lamenting with the late antique grammarian Terentianus Maurus about the fate of books (*pro captu lectoris habent sua fata libelli*), one can turn to a completely different type of source for comfort.⁷⁵³ In 1465, Janus Pannonius, the humanist bishop of Pécs in Hungary, wrote a letter to Galeotto Marzio in a Cicero-nian style, complaining about his friends, who had already borrowed all his classical Latin volumes from him, so that his only hope was that he could keep his Greek books, since none of his friends knew Greek: *Postremo suades, ut libros mittam. An nondum etiam satis misisse uideor? Graeci mihi soli restant, Latinos iam omnes abstulisti. Di melius, quod nemo uestrum Graece scit! Puto et ex Graecis nullum mihi faceretis reliquum. Quodsi didiceritis, ego mox Iudaicam ediscam et ex Hebraeis codicibus bibliothecam inscribam. Quae est ita, tanta librorum habendorum insatiabilitas? Creditis hoc non esse uitium?*⁷⁵⁴

To bridge the gap between the letter of a bishop of a humanist erudition who is in love with Greek and Latin classics and the sources relevant from eleventh-century Hungary belongs to the domain of intellectual history. It seems appropriate to note here, however, that in spite of the geographical and chronological difference, these

⁷⁵² Hyma (1930: 273, 279, 281, 322). See Phillips (1970: 1–30).

⁷⁵³ Terentianus Maurus, “De litteris, de syllabis, de metris libri III,” *GL* 6, 363. See Gerstinger (1948: 14–5).

⁷⁵⁴ Csapodi (1974: 46). See also Nemerkényi (2004: 7–17).

sources have something in common with the Erasmian and humanist traditions: they all attribute a special role to the Latin classics. The sparse and fragmentary evidence raises complex questions that are to be solved in their complexity. This is the main reason why the four major sources of this inquiry belong together. Drawing on the evidence provided by the four basic sources of this study, it is possible to establish the relation of the imported mainstream culture and the receiving territory. What makes the use of the standard classical authors distinctive in their new context is the fact that they were adapted to the various needs of literate people in eleventh-century Hungary right after its official conversion to Western Christianity.

First of all, Bonipert's request for a copy of Priscian's Latin grammar from Fulbert shows that the bishop of Pécs was aware of the emphasis on grammar at Chartres. He asked for the grammar to boost the study of Latin at the cathedral school of Pécs, which would serve as a solid foundation for the education in the liberal arts. The need for Priscian's grammar suggests that the students at Pécs already had an advanced command of Latin and what they needed was precisely what Priscian's grammar provided: an exhaustive grammar with an abundance of classical quotations as reference material. Contemporary cathedral libraries often possessed a copy of the grammar but in the case of Pécs, Bonipert's book request has an additional significance: it illustrates the starting point of the classical tradition in medieval Hungary.

While the *Admonitions* of King Saint Stephen of Hungary was primarily influenced by Biblical Latin, it relied considerably on the classical tradition in a way similar to its Carolingian antecedents in the 'mirror of princes' tradition. It applied the organic metaphor to the representation of the bishops, drawing on Biblical and classical concepts of the body as they were transmitted through the patristic authorities. It also featured the medieval idea of Rome in an Ottonian setting, based on indirect information about ancient Roman history. Its textual parallels to classical, patristic and medieval works show that the anonymous author was embedded in the same literary tradition as his Western counterparts.

The *Deliberatio* of Bishop Saint Gerard of Csanad presents a similar case in terms of methodology. Primarily it was also influenced by Biblical Latin and patristic sources, mainly Isidore of Seville, but the author's characteristically ambivalent approach to the seven liberal arts in general and to ancient rhetoric in particular shows that he did have some indirect knowledge of the Latin classics. The lexical and stylistic analysis of Book One provides an insight into Gerard's peculiar Latinity, but the review of his use of the literary convention of a fictive audience and the classical, patristic and medieval parallels of the text demonstrate that the *Deliberatio* relies on the classical tradition as it was transformed by the patristic authors.

Finally, the appearance of Cicero, Lucan, Donatus and the *Disticha Catonis* in the book list of the monastery of Pannonhalma fits into the medieval transformation of the classical canon: these school authors were widely read, quoted and commented by eve-

ryone from late antique grammarians to Carolingian scholars to later medieval authors. Contemporary monastic libraries often possessed copies of those classical texts that served as reading material at various stages of learning Latin. Although none of these classical manuscripts survives, the traces of the lost Latin classics of eleventh-century Hungary allow further conclusions.

What is known in the context of Hungary in the eleventh century is very little in terms of the standards of the classical holdings in the Carolingian libraries and the impressive cathedral and monastic collections such as those of Chartres, Cluny, Monte Cassino or Saint Gall. However, scholarship tends to treat these major centers of learning as reference points, as if these elite cathedrals and monasteries were representative of something that they are not: the average school setting of the eleventh century. The evidence on Pécs or Pannonhalma is a lot closer to that and of course this is partly why one cannot even differentiate between the types of a cathedral and a monastic library holding, besides the random availability of relevant sources.⁷⁵⁵

The presence of the Latin classics in local collections and in the libraries accessible to literate persons, such as the anonymous author of the *Admonitions* or Gerard of Csand, is rather difficult to verify on the basis of their mostly secondhand knowledge of the ancient Roman texts, but can by no means be excluded either—the school authors were usually Latin classics in medieval Hungary as well. Another difficulty is that of distinguishing between the classical training that the authors received abroad, using the material of foreign libraries and the resources of foreign schools, and the readings that were already available for them in Hungary.⁷⁵⁶

The problem of direct and indirect quotations is equally important. Besides suggesting that philologists should prefer the distinction between literal quotation and paraphrase to the differentiation between quotation, allusion and reminiscence, Harald Hagendahl has also pointed out that it is more informative to determine why and how a quotation occurs than to establish its origin. Hagendahl, however, worked on a rich patristic material and relied on centuries of relevant textual scholarship, which enabled him to propose subtle distinctions.⁷⁵⁷ It takes further studies to fully achieve these objectives regarding the “crystal clear Latinity” of the *Admonitions* and the less articulated, often irregular, composition of the *Deliberatio*, and to define to what extent they engage in direct quotations from classical authors or indirect quotations through the mediation of patristic and Carolingian authors, sample material in grammars, and *florilegia*.⁷⁵⁸

The Latin West could rely on a long tradition of copying and using classical texts,

⁷⁵⁵ See Munk Olsen (1989: 31–44). See also Reynolds and Wilson (1974: 86–90); Brunh  zl (1971: 117–31); Bloch (1972: 563–605); Newton (1999: 96–118); Ochsenbein (1999: 95–107).

⁷⁵⁶ See Glauche (1972: 617–36).

⁷⁵⁷ Hagendahl (1947: 114–28). See also O’Donnell (1980: 144–75); Parker (1996: 91–108).

⁷⁵⁸ See Horv  th (1954: 31).

but the recently Christianized countries did not have any such tradition whatsoever. One could nevertheless argue that the effect of the Latin classics in eleventh-century Hungary reflected the Western tradition. One should also avoid overinterpretation, however, because the imported mainstream culture of the West carried its own established classical tradition as well, and the intellectual life of eleventh-century Hungary did not necessarily meet Western standards.⁷⁵⁹ This is, however, a beginning worth studying, in order to historically understand the development of Latin literacy in medieval Hungary and thus provide a modest contribution to the present state of research into the classical tradition in the Middle Ages.⁷⁶⁰

One should not be satisfied with limited interpretations on the significance of the Latin classics in eleventh-century Hungary. The sources, however sparse and fragmentary, merit future studies that could enrich the present state of research with valuable new insights. Directions of further research may include material dating from eleventh-century Hungary but excluded from the present study: charters, law codes, historical and hagiographic accounts, and liturgical texts. These sources represent genres to be investigated separately from the perspective of the classical tradition in their full process of development, but their analysis will no doubt further contextualize the particular results in their wider context, the so-called medieval Christian humanism.⁷⁶¹

The point of departure of further research in this direction will embrace the principal thesis of the present study: Latin classics had a stronger impact on the formation of Latin literacy in medieval Hungary than has hitherto been acknowledged. If this thesis proves acceptable, future contributions will be useful for the study of Latin literacy in medieval Hungary as well as the scholarship in medieval Latin and the classical tradition in the Middle Ages—for classicists and medievalists alike.

⁷⁵⁹ See Fügedi (1986: VII.1–14).

⁷⁶⁰ See Munk Olsen (1995: 185–96).

⁷⁶¹ See Rüegg (1973: 91–111).

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